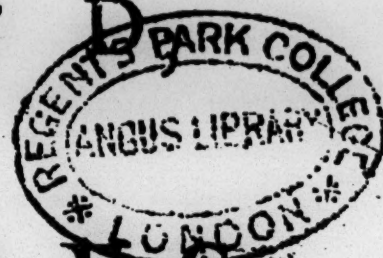


Toleration

D I S C U S S E D

IN TWO

DIALOGUES;



- I. Betwixt a **Conformist**, and a **Non-Conformist**; Laying open the *Impiety*, and *Danger* of a **General Liberty**.
- II. Betwixt a **Presbyterian**, and an **Independent**; Concluding, upon an *Impartial Examination* of their *Respective Practises*, and *Opinions*, in Favour of the **Independents**.

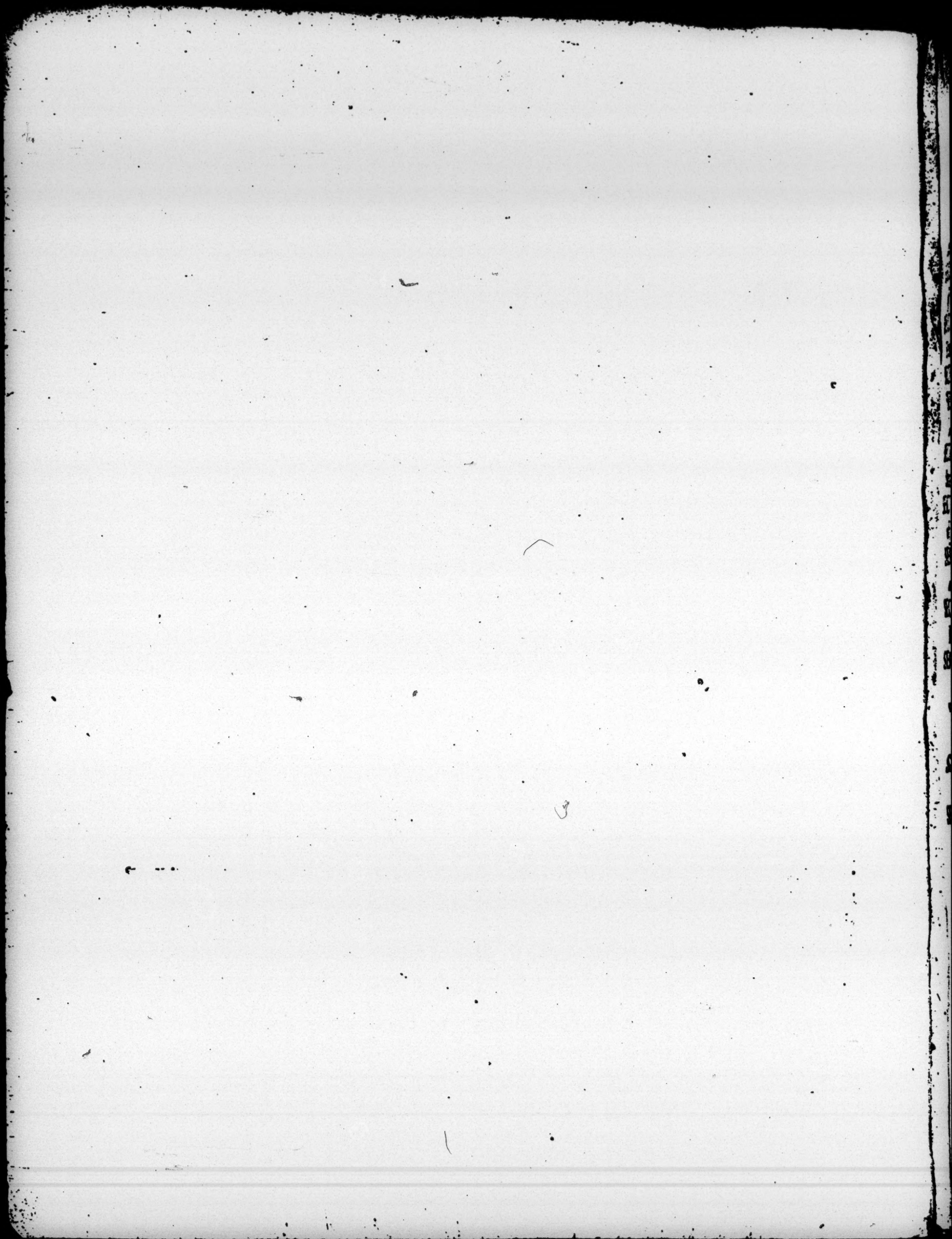
Vae vobis, Hypocritae!

By Roger L'Estrange, Esq.

The Third Edition.

LONDON,

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S. Pauls Church-yard. 1681.



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Toleration

Toleration. Discuss'd,
By way of Dialogue betwixt a
C O N F O R M I S T
AND A
N O N - C O N F O R M I S T .

Conformist. **L** *iberty of Conscience, or, No liberty of Conscience, is the Question. What is Conscience?*

Non-Conformist. *Conscience is Judicium Hominis de Semetipso, Amelius de prout subjicitur Judicio Dei. The Judgment that a Man makes of Himself and his Actions, with reference to the future Judgment of God. Or otherwise, It is An Ability in the Understanding of Man, by a Reflect Act to Judge of Himself in all he does, as to his Acceptance, or Rejection with God. Rutherford makes it to be A Power of the Practical Understanding, according to which the Man is obliged and directed to give Judgment of Himself; that is, Of His State and Condition, and of all his Actions, Inclinations, Thoughts, and Words.*

Consci. Indulg. & Toler. p. 13. Liberty of Conscience upon its true and proper Grounds, p. 3. See Dis.

C. If this be Conscience, Then Liberty of Conscience is A Liberty of a Man's Judgment of Himself, and his Actions, with reference to the future Judgment of God.

p. 3.

N. C. Right: But then he is bound likewise to Practice according to that Judgment, and To Worship God according to the Light and Understanding which he hath, of What is that Worship which is Acceptable with him, in Matter and Manner, and not otherwise.

Indulg. & Toler. p. 13.

C. So that your Liberty of Conscience is now come to Liberty of Practice. Indeed I could wish that the Advocates for Liberty would be a little more Candid in this business. They take wonderfull Pains

B

(many

Toleration Discuss'd.

(many of Them) to prove, that *Conscience cannot be forc'd*; It is out of the Reach of *Humane Power*; God never appointed any Judge of it; Shall any Man pretend to make me believe, That which I cannot believe? (And the like) Pressing the Argument, as if That were the very Pinch of the Case, which is just Nothing at all to the Point in Controversie. It is obvious to Common Reason, that This Suggestion cannot but create very dangerous and unquiet Thoughts in the People: For if they be denied *Liberty of Conscience* (in the plain and honest *English* of it) They suffer under the most Barbarous, and Ridiculous Persecution, that ever yet appear'd upon the face of the Earth. But on the other side, If their claim be stretch'd to *Liberty of Practice*, It seems not only unreasonable, but utterly inconsistent, both with *Christianity* it self, and the *Publique Peace*.

SECTION I.

UNIVERSAL TOLERATION too Wide, and Unlawfull.

Liberty of Conscience (as you have stated it) is *An Universal Toleration* for People to say and do what they please, under the Warrant and Pretext of Conscience.

N. C. That is to say, In Matters properly the Subject of Conscience, with Reference to the future Judgment of God.

C. By This Rule, *Pagans* are to be tolerated as well as *Christians*: For They have *Consciences* as well as *We*: They are convinc'd, that there is a God; and that That God ought to be Worship'd; and may plead for the same Freedome, in the way and manner of their Proceeding.

N. C. But *Paganism* is not within the Pale of the Question.

G. Why then, no more is *Conscience*. If you say, They are in the Wrong, and so debar them the Exercise of their Opinion, because of the Error of it, your Exception lies to the Error, not to the Conscience; and may be turn'd upon your selves: For they say as much of You; and have as much right to condemn You, as You Them: Neither have you any more Right to be Judges in your own Case, then they in theirs.

N.C.

N. C. Well, but we have a Law to Judge our selves by.

C. And so have They too : For They without a Law, do by Nature Rom 2.14 the things contained in the Law, and are a Law unto Themselves.

N. C. But how can that Law have any Regard to the future Judgment of God, when they deny the Immortality of the Soul?

C. There is a future Judgment of God in This Life, as well as in the next : And the Conscience that hath no Light at all of another World, is not yet without Apprehensions of Divine Vengeance in This. *Raro Antecedentem Scelestum deseruit pede pena claud.* You'll be as much to seek now, if you restrain your Argument to Christianity; for you must either prove That there are no Erroneous Consciences among Christians ; or That Error of Conscience is no Sin ; or else, That Sin may be Tolerated.

N. C. There is no doubt but there are Erroneous Consciences ; and it is as clear that Sin is not to be Tolerated : But I do not take every Error of Conscience to be a Sin (understand me of Consciences labouring under an Invincible Ignorance.)

C. It is very true, That as to the Formality of Sin, which is the Obliquity of the Will, An Error of Conscience under an Invincible Ignorance is no Sin : But Sin Materially considered is the Transgression of the Divine Law ; and Conscience it self becomes Sinfull, when it dictates against That Law.

N. C. Can there be any Sin without Assent ; or any Assent without Knowledge ; or any Knowledge in a Case of Invincible Ignorance ? The Transgression of the Law implies the Knowledge of it, or at least the Possibility of Knowing it ; without which, it has not the Nature of a Law, as to me. [The Conditions requisite to a Rule are These ; ^{Laud 2.} It must be Certain ; and it must be Known. If it be not Certain, it is ^{gainst Fi-} no Rule ; If it be not Known, it is no Rule to Us.] I had not known Sin but by the Law (says the Text) And in another Place, Where ^{her. p. 197.} there is no Law, there is no Transgression. From whence the De- ^{Rom. 7.7.} ^{Rom. 4.15} duction is clear, That Sin is not barely the Transgression of a Law, but the Transgression of a known Law ; the Inconformity of the Will to the Understanding.

Toleration Discuss'd.

C. The Perverseness of the Will being a Sin, does not hinder the Enormity of the Judgment to be so too. [Until the Law, Sin was in the World; but Sin is not imputed, when there is no Law.] In few words, The Word of God is the Rule of Truth, and all Disproportion to that Rule is Error: God's Revealed Will is the Measure of Righteousness; and all Disproportion to that Measure is Sin. Now the Question is not, Whether imputed, or no; but, Whether a Sin or No: And you cannot make Error of Conscience to be No Sin, without making the Word of God to be no Rule.

N. C. I do not deny, but it is a Sin as to the Law; but it is none as to the Person; It is none Constructively, with him that accepts the Will for the Deed.

C. Can you imagine that any Condition in the Delinquent can operate upon the Force and Equity of the Law? Because God spares the Offender, shall Man therefore tolerate the Offence? David was pronounced a Man after God's own Heart; shall Authority therefore grant a License to Murder and Adultery?

N. C. What is David's Case to ours? Your instance in Sins of Presumption, and the Question is touching Sins of Ignorance.

1 Tim. i.
13.

C. I was a Blasphemer, a Persecutor, and Injurious (says St. Paul) but I obtain'd Mercy (he does not say APPROBATION) because I did it in Ignorance and Unbelief. Again, The Magistrate has a Conscience, as well as the Subject. It may be Ignorance in him that Commits the Sin, and yet Presumption in him that Suffers it. Briefly, in pleading for all Opinions, you plead for all Heresies, and for the Establishment of Wickedness by a Law. What Swarms of Anabaptists, Brownists, Familists, Antinomians, Anti-Scripturists, Anti-Trinitarians, Enthusiasts (and what Not?) have started up even in our days, under the Protection of Liberty of Conscience? What Blasphemous and Desperate Opinions, to the Subversion both of Faith and Government! Where's the Authority of the Scriptures, and the Reverence of Religion, when every Man shall make a Bible of his Conscience, divide the Holy Ghost against it self, and dash one Text upon another? He that has a mind to rake further in this Ruddle, let him read Edwards his Gangrana, Bayly's Disswasive, Paget's Hare-siography, &c.

To pass now from Opinions, to Practices. The Liberty you challenge

lenge, opens a door to all sorts of Villany and Outrage imaginable; to Rapine, Murder, Rebellion, King-killing.

N. C. As if any Man that has a Conscience of his own, or knows what Conscience is, could give Entertainment to so fond an Imagination, as to suppose, that God at the last day will approve of Murthers, Seditions, and the like Evils; Since what is Evil in it self, and against the Light of Nature, there is no direction unto it, no approbation of it from Conscience in the least.

C. But what will this amount to? when, first, Every Man's Word shall be taken for his own Conscience: And secondly, That Conscience pleaded in defence of his Actions. That which you stile *Murther*, and *Sedition*, He'll tell you is only a *Gospel-Reformation*, *The Destroying of the Hittites and the Amorites, &c.* So that you are never the better for tying a Man up to the Light of Nature in his Actions, if you leave him at Liberty in his Creed: For there is not that Impiety in the World, but he'll give you a Text for it. The Adversaries of God, that refuse to enter into a holy Covenant with the Lord, and submit themselves to Christ's Scepter, may be Sequestered and Plundered, without the Imputation of Rapine; for it is written, *The Meek shall inherit the Earth*: And it is no more then God's People the *Israelytes* did to the *Egyptians*. Nay, if they be Refractory, they may be put to Death too, without Murder. [Those mine Enemies, which would not that I should Reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.] If any man has a spight at the Church, it is but calling it *Antichristian*, and Mr. Case shall give him a Commission to take this Agag, and Hew it in Pieces before the Lord. Taking up Arms against the Government, is helping the Lord against the Mighty. And Kingkilling it self, is justified by the Example of *Ehud* to *Eglon*.

N. C. But do you believe any Man so mad, as to take these Extravagances for Impulses of Conscience?

C. Or rather, Is not he madder that doubts it? Considering the Evidences we have both from Story and Experience, and the very Authority of Scripture it self, in favour of believing it. Does not our Saviour foretell us of *False Christs*, and *False Prophets*, that shall arise and deceive many; yea, if it were possible, the very Elect? Parties are engag'd in all sorts of Abomination, under the Masque of Conscience.

Sleydans
Comment
1.4.

Conscience. Those of the *League in Flanders*, 1503. under *Maximilian* bound themselves by Oath, to cast off the Yoke of Government, and to kill and slay all Opposers; but with such regard to *Religion* (I warrant ye) that every Member of that Confederacy was to say five *Ave Maryes* and *Pater Nosters* dayly, for a Blessing upon the Undertaking. The *Holy League* at *Peronne*, under *Henry the Third* of *France*, was for the *Glory of God* too, and the *Preservation of the King*: What Horrible Effects it produced, I need not tell you. *Sleydan* reckons upon *Fifty Thousand* slain in one Summer, in the *Boores* Rebellion in *Germany*, 1525. And charges the Tumult upon *Seditious Pacachers*, whereof *Muncer* was chief. I shall not need to mind you of the Damned Villanies that were acted by *Muncer*, *Phifer*, (*Becold*, or) *John of Leyden*, *Rottman*, *Knipperdolling*, *Knippenbrake*, *John Matthias*, and the rest of that Gang, under the Imposture of *Inspiration*, and *Conscience*: There Sacking and Burning of Towns, Rapes, and Massacres: And all this under the pretense of *God's Command*, and the *Direction of his Holy Spirit*. Nay, so strongly was the deluded Multitude possess'd with the Doctrine and Ways of their False Prophets, that the *Muncerians*, upon the Charge of the *Landtgrave of Hesse*, stood stone still, without striking a Blow; calling upon the *Holy Ghost* to their Succour (as *Muncer* had promised them) till they were all Routed and Cut off.

Davila
delle Guer.
Civ. di
Fran. l. 10.

Itid.

Lib. 14.

Was it not a *Holy Father*, and the *Prior* of the *Convent* (one of the Heads of the *League*) that confirm'd *Clement* in his purpose of Murthering *Harry the Third* of *France*? For his Encouragement, they assur'd him, That if he outliv'd the Fact, he should be a *Cardinal*; If he dy'd a *Saint*. What was it again that originally disposed this Monster to that cursed Act? *Stimolato dalle Predicationi, che giornallmente sentivo fare contra Henrico de Valois, nominato il persecutore della Fede, & il Tyranno.* Seditious Sermons against the King, as a Persecutor of the Faith, and a Tyrant. See in the same Author, the Confession of *John Castle*, concerning his Attempt upon *Harry the Great*. He had been brought up in the *Jesuites* School, and Instructed, That it was not only Lawfull, but Meritorious to destroy *Harry of Bourbon*, That Revolted Heretick, and Persecutor of the *Holy Church*. [*Esaminato con le solite Forme, confesso liberamente, &c.*] What was it that Animated *Ravillac* to his Hellish Practise upon that Brave Prince? but (by his own Confession) A Discourse of *Mariana's*, *De Rege, & Regis Institutione*. It was a *Divine Instinct* too,

Toleration Discuss'd.

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too, that mov'd *Balthasar Gerard* to Murther the Prince of *Aurange*. *Strala de*
 [*Divino tantum Instinctu, id à se patratum constanter affirmabat did. Tor-* *Bello Bel-*
rus.] To conclude now with That fresh and execrable Instance *gico. l. 5.*
 here at Home, upon the Person of the *Late King*: It was the *Pulpit*
 that started the Quarrel; The *Pulpit* that Enflamed it; The *Pulpit*
 that Christen'd it *God's Cause*; The *Pulpit* that conjur'd the People
 into a *Covenant* to defend it; The *Pulpit* that blasted the King;
 that persu'd him, that prest the putting of Him to Death; and
 the *Pulpit* that applauded it when it was done. And how was
 all this effected? (I beseech ye) but by Imposing upon the weak
 and inconsiderate Multitude, *Errors for Truths*; by perverting *Script-*
ures; and by these Arts, moulding the *Passions* and the *Consciences*
 of the People to the Interest of a Tumultuary Design. These are
 the Fruits of the *Toleration* you demand. Reflect soberly upon what
 has been said; and Tell me, Do you think such a *Toleration* either
 fit for You to *Ask*, or for *Authority* to *Grant*.

N.C. The Truth is, In this Latitude there may be great Inconveni-
 es: And yet methinks, 'tis Pity (in Cases of some Honest Mistakes)
 that a Good Man should be punished for not being a Wise Man.

C. And were it not a greater Pity, do ye think, for a State to
 keep no Check upon Crafty Knaves, for fear of disoblighing some
 Well-meaning Fools? As to the Sparing of the Man, I wish it cou'd
 be done, even where it were Impious to give Quarter to the Opinion:
 But how shall we separate the Error from the Person, so as to make
 a General Law take notice of it? It were Irreligious to Tolerate
 Both, and it seems to me Impossible to sever them. If you your self
 now can either prove the former to be Lawful (that is, to do Evil, that
 Good may come of it) or the latter to be Practicable, I'll agree with
 you for a General Toleration: If not, I hope you'll joyn with me a-
 gainst it.

N.C. I am not for a Toleration (as I told you) against the Light
 of Nature; nor would I have any Pretense of Conscience admit-
 ted, that leads to the Destruction of the Magistrate, and the Distur-
 bance of the Government.

Liberty of
 Consc. up-
 on its true
 and proper
 Grounds,
 p. 12.

C. That is to say, You will content Your self with a Limited To-
 leration; which, I fear, upon the Debate, will prove as much too
 narrow for you, as the Other was too wide.

S E C T.

SECT. II.

*LIMITED TOLERATION too Narrow, and
Disobliging to the Excluded Party.*

C By a *Limited Toleration* we may understand *A Legal Grant of Freedom and Immunity, in Matters of Religion, to Persons of such and such Perswasions, and to no Others.*

N. C. Or if you please, An Exemption from the Lash of the Act of Uniformity.

C. You say something, if This would do the Work. But to dissolve a Solemn Law, for the Satisfaction of some Particular; and at last leave the People worse then we found them, were certainly a gross Oversight. However, what's your Quarrel to it?

N. C. I think it a great Cruelty to confine a multitude of differing Judgments to the same Rule, and to punish a *Conscientious* People for those Disagreements, which they can neither avoid, nor relinquish.

C. Why will you Practise that Cruelty your selves then, which you condemn in others? For *Limited Toleration*, is an Act of *Uniformity* to those that are *excluded*. They that are within the Comprehension, will be well enough: But what will become of them that are left out? who have *Conscionces* as well as their Fellows, and as good a Title to an Indulgence, as those that are taken in. Upon a fair View of the Matter, you can neither admit *All*, without Offence to your *Conscience*; nor leave out *Any*, without a *Cheque* to your *Argument*.

N. C. And yet I am perswaded a *Limited Toleration* would give *Abundant Satisfaction*.

C. Suppose you had it, and your self One of the *Rejected Party*: Are not you as well now, without any *Toleration* at all, as you be then, without receiving any *Benefit* by it?

N. C. To deal fairly, I would not willingly be excluded.

C. And

Toleration Discuss'd.

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C. And is not That every Man's Case, as well as yours? *A Limited Toleration* must exclude *Some*, and why not *You*, as well as *Another*? Or indeed, Why should not *All* be *Tolerated*, as well as *Any*? They can no more abandon their Opinions, then you Yours: And *Your Ways* are just the same Grievances to *Them*, which (if You may be credited) *Ours* are to *You*. So that most undeniably, the Plea of the *Nonconformists* upon the Point of *Conscience*, is all alike: And since None of them have more Right to an Indulgence, One then Another, Why should any Party of them expect more *Favour*; to the Exclusion and Disobligation of the Rest?

N.C. But are not *Some* Opinions more tolerable then Others? Do you put no Difference betwixt Truth and Errour? Betwixt Points Fundamental and Non-Fundamental? Betwixt the very Basis of Christianity, and the Superstructure? In fine, Betwixt such Principles as affect Order and Publique Agreement, and others that flow Naturally into Looseness and Confusion?

C. Without Dispute, *Some* Opinions and Principles are more allowable then Others: But where lieth the Right of *Allowing*, or *Rejection*? Let This be first examined, and then we'll advise upon the *Opinions*, and *Principles* themselves, what may be allow'd, and what Not.

SECT. III.

No Toleration to be admitted but with the Allowance of the Chief Magistrate.

WE are agreed, first, That an *Universal Toleration* (implying a License to all sorts of Wickedness) is not upon any terms to be admitted: Secondly, That a *Limited Toleration* (being a Grant of Favour to *Some*, and Exclusive of Others) must needs lay a Disobligation upon the Exclusive Party. The next Point will be, Where to place the Power of Permitting, or Refusing; and from thence we shall pass to an Inquiry into the *Bounds* and *Limits* of such a *Toleration* as may be warrantable: Which being once settled, we are to see how far the Pretences and Qualifications of the Parties concern'd will suit with those Measures.

C

N.C.

Disc. of
Relig.
Preface.

N. C. *Grant us but an Indulgence to Dissenters of Sound Faith, and Good Life; We ask no more. Let Nothing be imposed upon us that is grievous to our Consciences on the One Hand, and We shall never desire a Toleration of any thing that is justly Offensive to Church or State on the Other.*

C. But What if the Dissenters shall call that *Sound Doctrine*, which the Church defines *Heretic*? What if the Subject shall account That Imposition *grievous*, which the Magistrate thinks *Necessary*? Or That Liberty *Consciencious*, which the Governour esteems *Unlawful*? Who shall over-rule? If the Subject, it follows then, That the Magistrate is obliged to *Tolerate* whatsoever the Subject shall judge Himself obliged to do: And this carries us back into a *General Toleration*. If the Magistrate over-rule, your Plea of *Conscience* is out of Doors: And it is at his Choice, What sorts of Dissenters to Indulge; and, Whether Any, or None, at his Pleasure.

N. C. *The World, you know, is as much divided about the Power of the Civil Magistrate in matters of Religion, as about any other part (perchance) of our Debate.*

C. We shall discourse That more at large elsewhere. But however, as to this Particular, let us come to a present Settlement, that we may clear our way as we go. If you make the People Judges of what is fit to be *Tolerated*, First, (as I said before) You are upon the Old Rock of *Universal Toleration*? for (right or wrong) every Man will stick to the freedom of his own way. Secondly, You lay the Foundation of a Quarrel never to be reconciled. You shall have as many *Factions*, as *Men*; As many *Religions*, as *Fancies*; and every *Dissenter* shall be both a *Party*, and a *Judge*. To imagine an Agreement betwixt the Magistrate and the Multitude, by the Common Consent of Both; were to suppose an Accommodation betwixt Heaven and Hell, betwixt Light and Darkness; which are every jot as Capable of it, as several of the Differences now before us. And for an Umpire in the Case, you can pretend to None.

N. C. *Pardon me: We have the Word of God to repair to, in what concerns Sound Faith; and the Light of Nature for our Guide, in the Duties of Good Life.*

C. This.

Toleration Discuss'd.

II

C. This is to make that which was the *Ground* of the first *Controversie*, the *Umpire* of the *Second*. For what is the Original of all our Grand Disagreements, but (as *St. Augustine* has it) *Bona Scriptura male intellecta*; Good Scriptures ill understood? And we are never the nearer an Accord for the Reading of Them, without another Moderator to set us right in the meaning of Them. Neither is the *Light of Nature* any more Exempt from false Glosses and Misconstructions, than the *Bible*. Upon the whole matter, you see the Absurdities and Inconveniences that follow upon placing the Judgment and Direction of Ordering these Matters of Difference, any where else then in the *Magistrate*: Whose Duty and Interest it is both as a *Christian* and as a *Ruler*, to put an end to these Impious Contentions, by such Rules and Establishments as may secure the Foundations both of *Religion* and *Government*.

N. C. This would do well, if Men were agreed upon those Rules: But Several Men, we see, have Various Apprehensions of the self-same thing; And That which One Man takes for a Rule, another counts an Error.

C. You are at your *Universal Toleration* again: But pray mark the Consequences of this way of Reasoning: Because the *Multitude* cannot agree upon a Rule, there shall be None at all. Pursue this Argument, and there shall be no Law, No Religion, No Scripture, No Truth left in the World. Because Men differ, Which is the true Religion. They disagree about the Doctrine of the Bible. That which is Truth to One Man, is Heresie to another. And never was there any Law that pleased all People.

Authority says, Worship Thus, or So: The Libertine cries, No, 'Tis a Confinement of the Spirit; An Invention of Man: A making of That Necessary which God left Free; A Scandal to Tender Consciences, &c. And here is Authority concluded as to the Manner of Worship.

So for the Time. How do they know when Christ was Born, Crucified, or Raised from the Dead. The Churches Fastings-days They make their Jubile's. *Videas hodie Quosdam* (says *Calvin*) *quibus sua Libertas non videtur Consistere, nisi per Esu Carnium die Veneris in ajus Passi- fessionem venerint.* We have many Nowadays, that would look upon their Liberty as good as forfeited, if they should not maintain their Title to it, by Eating Flesh on Fastings-days.

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stiana.

'Tis the same thing as to the Place. Command them to Churches, They will tell you, There is no Inherent Holiness in the Walls: The Hearts of the Saints are the Temples of the Lord: Is not God to be

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found in a Parlour, as well as in a Steeple-house? Finally, What have they to say for all This, But that This is One Man's Judgement, That Another's? This or That may be indifferent to you, but not to me, To conclude, What One Man Urges, All may; and in All Cases, as Well as in Any: Which has brought us once again to an indeterminable Liberty. The last Resort of all the Champions of your Cause, if they be followed home. Now if you can assign any other Arbitrator of this Matter then the Civil Power, do it: if you cannot, let us proceed.

N.C. *Go forward then.*

S E C T. I V.

The BOUNDS of Toleration. And the Error of making Fundamentals and Non-Fundamentals to be the Measure of it.

C. *I**N the Question of Toleration (says a Learned Prelate) the Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government is to be secured: Wherein is comprised a Provision and Care, that we may live as Christians toward God, as Members of a Community toward one another, and as Loyall Subjects toward our Sovereign. if you'l take This for the Standard of your Toleration, we have no more to do, but to apply Matters in Controversie to the Rules of Christianity, Good Manners, and Government; and to entertain or reject all Pretensions, thereafter as we finde them Agreeable, or Repugnant, to Religion, Morality, and Society.*

N.C. *Very well stated truly, I think.*

C. *All the Danger is, the falling to pieces again, when we come to bring This and That to the Test. For if we differ at last upon the Application of Particular Points, and Actions, to the General Heads of Faith, and Government already laid down and agreed upon, We shall yet lose our selves in Uncertainty, and Confusion.*

N.C. *There will be no fear of That, if we tie up our selves to Fundamentals.*

C. *What do you mean by fundamentals?*

N. C.

N.C. There are Fundamentals of faith that bind Us as we are Christians? And there are Fundamentals of Practice, that oblige us as we are Members of a Community. From These Fundamentals there lies no Appeal to Conscience. In other Matters (which we look upon as Non-Fundamental) we think it reasonable to Desire a Toleration.

C. This Distinction has a fair Appearance; but there is no trusting to it. First it proposes a thing neither *Practical*, nor *Reasonable*; which is, The Uniting of all People under one Common Bond of *Fundamentals*. What possibility is there of attaining such an Agreement, among so many Insuperable Diversities of Judgment, as reign in Mankind? Insomuch, that what is a *Fundamental Truth* to One, is a *Fundamental Error* to Another; and Every Man is ready to abide the Faggot for his own Opinion. It is also very *unreasonable* to exact it. God Almighty does not require the *same Fundamentals* from all Men alike; But *Much* from Him to whom *Much* is given, and *Little* from Him, to whom *Little*: And from All, according to their differing Degrees, and Measures, of Grace, and Knowledge. You will likewise find your self under great *Uncertainty* about the stating of your *Fundamentals*: For divers *Circumstances*, of Little, or No value in Themselves, becomes *Fundamental* in respect of their *Consequences*. As for Instance; That *Christ died for Sinners*, I presume shall be one Article of your *Faith*: But whether upon *Mount Calvary*, or some other part of the Neighbourhood, seems of no great Moment, as to the Main of Our Salvation. And yet he that denies that Our Saviour suffer'd upon *Mount Calvary*, puts as great an Affront upon the *Veracity* of the *Holy Ghost* in the Gospel, as He which denies that he suffer'd upon the *Cross*.

N. C. I give it for Granted, that from some, more is required; from others, less: In proportion to their Differing Gifts and Graces. But then there are some Principles, so Essential to Christianity, and so clear in Themselves, as to admit of no Dispute.

C. Saving That Grand Foundation of Our Faith, that *Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh*; and that *Whosoever confesses, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, God dwelleth in Him, and He in God.* (Saving I say) That Radical Principle, which if we disbelieve, we are no longer *Christians*) There is scarce One Point that has not been subjected to a Controversie. If you reduce your *Fundamentals* to This Scantling, Your *Creed* will lie in a very Narrow Compass: But your *Toleration* will

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will be Large Enough, if you are at Liberty for the rest. Touching the *Clearness* of them, I do not comprehend it: For *Supernatural Truths* holds no Proportion at all with the Ordinary Motions of *Humane Reason*. If They be so clear, Tell us, What they are; where we shall look for them; and How we shall know them when we have found them.

N. C. *Where should we Look for the Foundation of our Faith, but in the New-Testament of Jesus Christ?*

C. But still we do not all read the Bible with the same Spectacles. To draw to an Issue; *Generals* conclude nothing, so long as we are left at Freedom to wrangle about *Particulars*; and you will find much surer footing upon the *Foundations* of *Establish'd Law*, then upon the Whimsies of *Popular Speculation*. To my thinking, the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, as it is settled by *Acts of Parliament*, with other Legal Constitutions, for the Peace, and Order of the Government, are every whit as competent a Provision for the Good of the Publique, as your new *Fundamentals*.

N. C. *The Point is not (as you seem to understand it) a Competition between Our Fundamentals of Notion, and Yours of Law: But an Inquiry concerning the Limits of a Justifiable Toleration.*

C. Very Good: And you refer us to your Distinction of *Fundamentals* and *Non-Fundamentals*, as to a Rule, how far we are at Liberty, and wherein we are Bounded. But This will not do the work? and I have spent the more words about it, because I find This Distinction the Ordinary Retreat of Your Party. The Truth of it is, there's not One of a Hundred of you, but takes This Question by the wrong Handle. You make it a Question of *Conscience*, and *Religion*, What may be *Tolerated*, and what not: Whereas the thing falls properly under a Consideration of *State*. In Matters not to be *Tolerated* (as in *Articles of Religion*) The Magistrate is positively bound up; In other Cases, He may chuse, whether he will *Tolerate*, or *Restrain*; That is to say, with a perpetual Regard to the Quiet, and Security of the Publique. Where *Particulars* may be relieved, without Inconvenience to *Communities*, it is well: But otherwise, *Private Consciences* weigh little in the Scale against *Political Societies*: And *Toleration* is only so far allowable, as it complies with the Necessity, and Ends of *Government*.

N. C.

N. C. *That is to say (according to your first Resolution) The Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government is to be secured: Wherein I am content to close with you ; though there are some, that believe the Right of Toleration may be defended without any Restrictions.*

C. For Discourse sake, pray try, what you can make on't, either with, or without.

SECT. V.

The Common Argument for TOLERATION, Examined.

N. C. **N**O Man under the Gospel ought to be compell'd to believe any thing ; and if not to believe, then not to practise. Lib. of
Consc.
P. 37

C. *Rutherford* says well to this Point: That the Magistrate is not to force Men Positively to External Worship ; but Negatively, to punish Acts of False Worship, and Omissions of External Performances of Worship, as of Ill Example to Others: Not Commanding Outward Performances, as Service to God ; but forbidding Omissions of them as Destructive to Man.

N. C. *It is a strange Absurdity to force Men, against their own Light to be guided by Others, unless we are sure, we cannot mistake.* Lib. of
Consc.
P. 38.

C. But were it not a stranger Absurdity, to leave every Man at Liberty to set up a new Light of his own ; and then to subject the United Light of the Nation (which is the Law) to the Scatter'd Lights of Private Persons?

N. C. *But does not One Man see that sometimes, which a Thousand may miss?*

C. And because This is possible, is the Odds therefore upon One against a Thousand? Or if so, Why may not the Church be in the Right against the People, as well as any Particular of the People, against the Church, and the Rest? This is most Certain, that of a Thousand Differing Opinions, there can be but One Right: And a Toleration upon your supposal, is sure to set up Nine hundred ninety nine Errors : which is the ready way to bring People to cutting of Throats for Opinions.

N. C.

N. C. *If a Magistrate may punish all that his Conscience says are in the wrong, then All Persecutors are in the right.*

C. Men are not punish't for their *Consciences*, but for their *Actions*: And if a *Magistrate* may not restrain *Liberty of Action*, then all *Rebellions* are in the *Right*.

Lib. of
Consc.
P. 24.

N. C. The Magistrate is appointed to see That Executed which Christ hath appointed in Religion; and Punctually ty'd up *neither to Add, nor to Diminish either in the Matter, or in the Manner. The Manner Christ hath appointed, being as positively obliging as the Matter.*

C. If it be the Magistrates Duty to see Christ's Appointments in Religion Executed, in *Matter*, and *Manner*, without *Adding*, or *Diminishing*: *First*, You must allow him to be a Competent Judge of what Christ hath appointed; (for otherwise his Comission directs him to do He knows not what.) *Secondly*, According to your Argument, there is but *One Way of Worship*, warrantable; which puts a Bar unto any sort of *Toleration* whatsoever.

Lib of
Consc.
P. 13, 14.

N. C. *If the Magistrate has any Power over the Conscience of his People, How came he by it? For he that hath no other, then the Light of Nature, hath as much Power, as if he were Christian; and by becoming Christian hath no Addition of Power to what he had before.*

C. It is true, that *Christianity* (as you put the Case) does not confer upon the *Magistrate* any *New Power*; but it lays upon him an *Additional Obligation of Duty*. While his *Conscience was Pagan*, He took his Measures only from *Humane Prudence*, and the *Light of Nature*. But upon his *Conversion*, He falls under the Dictate of a *Conscience* that is *Further*, and *Otherwise Enlighten'd*: And becomes Answerable, as well for the *Establishing, Securing, and Promoting of Christianity*, as for the *Political Conservation of his People, and Government*.

N. C. *Persecution may make Hypocrites, but not Converts.*

C. You may say the same thing of the *Law*, In other Cases. That makes many Men *Honest in appearance*, for fear of *Punishment*; that are yet rotten at *Heart*. Nay, I am further perswaded, that *where Severity makes one Hypocrite, it cures a hundred.* For so long as there

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there is either *Profit*, or *Credit* to be got, by the *Disguise* of *Religion*, All men of *Corrupt Principles*, and *Designs* will flow into the *Party*. But when That *Temptation* to *Hypocrisie* shall be removed; and that they find nothing to be gotten by the *Imposture*, but *Punishment* and *Disgrace*, They will soon betake themselves to a more regular *Station* in the *Government*. *Many a Counterfeit Cripple has been cured with a Dog-whip.*

N. C. *Are Heresies to be Extirpated, and Truth to be Propagated by the Sword, or by the Word?*

C. If it be the *Penalty* you oppose; Where the *Word* will not do, You your selves fly to *Censures*, and *Excommunications*, which are *Punishments*, as well as *Corporal*, and *Pecuniary Inflictions*; and as little *Instructive*. But you are upon a *Mistake*: The *Civil Power* does not so much Pretend to the *Recovery* of those that are out of the *Way*, as to the *Saving* of the *Rest*: Not does it properly Punish any Man, as an *Heretick*, but as a *Seducer*. Do you but let the *King's Subjects* alone, and He'll never trouble Himself to Impose upon your *Consciences*. If it reaches not *Wickedness* in the *Heart*, It provides yet against the *Infection* of it, and the *Scandal*; by keeping the *Hands*, and *Tongues* of *Licentious People* in *Order*.

N. C. *I do not deny, but that a Rigorous Law may have some Profitable Influence upon the Looser Sort: Yet still it falls heavy upon the Innocent, as well as upon the Guilty. To Know, Believe, or Profess are not in our Power: And shall a Man be punish'd for want of Grace, or Understanding?*

C. Though it is not in our *Power* to *Know*, and *Believe*, as we please; yet to forbear *publishing* of our *Thoughts*, and *Acting* in *Relation* to Them, is unquestionably in our *Power*. Neither is any Man to be punish'd for want of *Grace*, or *Understanding*: But yet it will be ill, if those *Defects* may pass for an *Excuse*. All manner of *Implety* should then go *Scot-free*: for without *Doubt*, *Let Fools be Priviledged, and all Knaves shall pretend Ignorance.*

N. C. No Man can call *Jesus* the *Christ*, but by the *Holy Ghost*: Will you punish any Man for not having the *Holy Ghost*?

Lib. of
Consc.
P. 27.

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N. C.

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C. No Man that hath the *Holy Ghost* will deny *Jesus* to be the *Christ*: Will you punish any Man for denying *Jesus* to be *Christ*; that is to say, for not having the *Holy Ghost*?

N. C. *He that acts against his Conscience, Sins.*

C. And so does he that Acts by it, If in Error.

Lib. of
Consc.
p. 36.

N. C. Every Man is true to God, that is true to his Conscience, though it be *Erroneous*.

C. Will it not then follow, that a Man may worship the *Sun*, or the *Moon*, and yet be true to God; if That *Worship* be according to his Conscience? To clear This Point; Some Consciences are *Erroneous* upon the score of *Invincible Ignorance*; and That *Insuperable Frailty* is a fair Excuse: But Some Consciences again are *Erroneous* for want of due *Care, Search, and Enquiry*; Others, out of *Pertinacy*: And there is no *Plea* to be admitted for *These Consciences*.

N. C. *How do you know, but you may persecute God, in the Conscience of a True Believer, as St. Paul did, before his Conversion?*

C. If I may turn your own Reason against your self, I may do it, and yet be true to God; if in so doing, I am true to my Conscience. But still you confound *Conscience*, and *Practise*; whereas the *Civil Magistrate* pretends to no sort of *Authority*, or *Dominion* over the Conscience. And your Objection is of as little force any other way: For the *Magistrate* is no more *Infallible* in One Case, then in Another; and may as well Dread the Persecuting of God, in the Conscience of a *Murderer*, or any other *Criminal*, as in that of an *Heretick*.

N. C. *I think we have enough: But it may be, This Toleration will please us better in the Exercise, then it does in the Speculation.*

C. What Hinders then, but we may try it that way too?

SECT. VI.

TOLERATION undermines the Law, and causes Confusion both in Church and State.

N. C. **W**Hy may not a Toleration do as well here, as in France?

C. How do you mean? Would you have his Majesty of Great-Britain, Tolerate Roman-Catholicks here, as his Most Christian Majesty does Protestants in France?

N. C. You speak as if None were to be Tolerated but Papists.

C. Not I truly: But so it must be, if you'l have your Toleration after the French Fashion. Can you shew me that any Non-Conforming Roman Catholicks are Tolerated There? Nay; Or that those of the Religion do Subdivide, or break Communion among Themselves? Such an Instance might stand you in some stead.

N. C. But is it not More, To Tolerate a Foreign Religion, then to Indulge your own? To permit Freedom of Worship to those you repute Hereticks, then to Relaxe a little towards your Orthodox Friends?

C. The Question is not, in Matter of Religion, whether to Favour Sound Faith, or Heresie; but in Reason of State, whether is more Advisable, to Tolerate the Exercise of quite a Different Religion; Or a Separation from the Church-Order Establish'd. Alas! In several Religions (and especially where the Professors are divided by mutual Prejudice, and Principles of strong Opposition, (as in this Case too much they are) There's no great fear of gathering, and engaging Parties, to the Disturbance of the Publick Peace. There is a great Gulf (as he says) betwixt them. And Men do not usually start from one Extreme to another, at a Leap; But to Tolerate One Church within Another, is to Authorize a Dissolution of the Government both Ecclesiastical, and Civil. And the Defection is the more Dangerous, because it is almost Insensible. As many as will leave you may; and every Dissenter is double: One lost, to the Government; Another gain'd, to the Schism: Which will quickly bring down Authority to the Mercy of the People. In fine, By Toleration, a Kingdom is divided against it self, and cannot stand.

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N. C. *When you have taken Breath, Do me the Favour to make out what you say.*

C. *The Demand of a Toleration, is in it self, the Condemnation of an Establish'd Law; and not without hard Reflections neither, both upon the Equity, and Prudence of the Law-makers. So that at first Dash, here is the Law unking'd: For if any One Law may be question'd by the Multitude, The Consequence reaches to All the Rest.*

N. C. *We do not question, either the Prudence of the Law-Makers; Or the General Equity of the Constitution. Only where God hath not given Us Consciences suitable to the Rule, as may Comply with Our Consciences.*

C. *Would you have a Law that shall Comply with all Consciences? God Almighty Himself never made a Law that pleas'd all People.*

N. C. *It would be well then, that you should bring all Men to the same Mind, before you force them to the same Rule.*

C. *But it would be ill, if there should be no Rule at all, till we had found out One that all People should say Amen to.*

N. C. *We do not ask the Vacating of a Law, but the Widening of it.*

C. *Why then you ask a worse thing; for it were much better for the Publick, totally to Vacate a Good Law, then to suffer a Contempt, even upon a Bad One. If the Reason of such a Law be gone, Repeal the Law. But to let the Obligation fall, and the Law stand, seems to be a Salveism in Government. You should consider, that Laws are not made for Particulars; but framed with a Regard to the Community: And they ought to stand Firm, and Inexorable. If once they come to Harken to Popular Expostulations, and to side with By-Interests, the Reverence of Government is shaken.*

N. C. *But where's the Danger of Receding from that Inexorable Strictness.*

C. *Here it lies. It implies an Assent, both to the Equity of the Complaint, and to the Reason of the Opinion in Question: (If not also a Submission to Importunity, and Clamor.) And among many Ill Consequences*

Consequences, It draws This after It, for One. If any *One Sort* of People may be allow'd to challenge any *One Law*; *All other Sorts* have an Equal Right of Complaining against *All*, or any of the *Rest*. So that a *Toleration*, thus Extorted, does not only unsettle the *Law*; but ministers Argument to the Pretense of *Popular Reformation*. To say Nothing of the Credit it gives to the Disobedient, and Discouragement to those that keep their Stations: Beside what may be reflected upon the Magistrate, for Instability of Counsels.

Another Exception may be This: How shall we distinguish betwixt *Faction*, and *Conscience*? If it prove to be the former, A *Toleration* does the Business to their Hand. Nay, Suppose it the latter; and that, hitherto, there is Nothing but pure *Conscience* in the Case; What Security have We, that it shall not yet embroil us in *Mutiny*, and *Sedition*? Will not the *Tolerated Party* become a Sanctuary for all the *Turbulent Spirits* in the Nation? Shall they not have their *Meetings*, and *Consultations*, without Controul? And when they shall see the *Law* prostituted to the Lusts of the Multitude; The *Order* of the Government dissolved; and the *Government* it self left naked, and supportless; What can We Expect shall be the End of these things, but *Misery*, and *Confusion*?

Nor is it all, that a *Toleration* is of manifest *Hazzard* to us: But it is *That* too, without any sort of *Benefit* in Return. Shall we be the *Quieter* for it? No. *One Grant* shall become a *Precedent* for *Another*; and so shall *One Importunity* for *Another*, Till we are brought in the *End*, either to a *General License*; Or to a *General Tumult*. (No matter Which) The *Rejected Party* will be sure to mind you, that They are as good *Subjects*, and have as good *Claims* as Others, that are *Tolerated*; upon which disobliging score, there falls an *Odium*, and *Envy* upon the Government.

I think a Man shall not need the Spirit of *Prophecy*, to foretel these Events. For a *Toleration* does naturally *Evirtuate* the *Law*, and lead to a *Total Dissolution* of *Ecclesiastical Order*; and Consequently, to a *Confusion*, both in *Church*, and *State*.

N. C. I do not find my self much press'd by any thing now offer'd: If a *Toleration* unhinges the *Law*, 'Tis but making the *Law* a little Wider, and then the *Block* is removed: And so is the *Fear* likewise of bringing present Importunities into *Precedent*: For *All Tolerable Liberties* may be comprehended within that *Latitude*. And as to the matter of *Imposing*

posing Faction for Conscience, such a Provision secures You, as well, as the Act for Uniformity.

C. I have spoken as much as Needs to this Point : If you think you have any Right to a Toleration, make it out ; and Approve your selves for a Generation of People, to Whom, the King may with Honour, and Safety, Extend a Bounty.

SECT. VII.

The Non-Conformists Plea for Toleration, upon REASONS of STATE.

C. **T**He Ordinary Motives to Indulgence, are these three. 1. Reason of State. 2. The Merits of the Party. 3. The Innocence, and Modesty of their Practices, and Opinions. What have you to say now for a Toleration upon Reason of State?

N. C. The Non-Conformists are the King's Subjects ; and What's a King without his People ?

C. By Birth, and Obligation, they are the King's Subjects ; but if they be not so in Practice, and Obedience, They have no longer any Title to the Benefit of his Protection, and such Subjects are the worst of Enemies.

N. C. You will not deny them now ever to be a Numerous Party : And a People of Conduct, and Unity : Which puts the Government under some kind of Prudential Necessity, to oblige so Considerable an Interest.

C. If they be consequently Dangerous, because they are Numerous ; The Greater the Number is, the greater is the Hazard : And therefore because they are many already, and will encrease if they be suffer'd, They are not to be Tolerated.

N. C. But Men will be much more Peaceable when they are Indulged, then when they are Persecuted.

C. Now I am perswaded, that the Multitude will be much quieter without a Power to do Mischiefe, then with it. But what is your Opinion of the Honesty of the Party ?

N. C.

N. C. I do seriously believe the Nonconformists to be an Honest, Conscientious sort of People.

C. But they must be *Knaves*, to make Good Your Argument : for if they be *Honest*, They'l be quiet without a Toleration : If they be *Dishonest*, They'l be *Dangerous* with it. Consider again ; If there be any *Hazard*, it lies not in the *Number*, but in the *Confederacy*. A *Million* of Men without *Agreement*, are but as *One Single Person*. Now They must *Consult*, before they can *Agree* ; and They must *Meet*, before they can *Consult*. So that barely to hinder the *Assembling* of these Multitudes, frustrates the *Danger* of Them. Whereas on the other side, To *Tolerate* *Seperate Meetings*, is to *Countenance* a *Combination*.

N. C. Mistake me not ; I do not say, 'tis likely they will be troublesome, in Respect of their Temper, and Judgments ; but that they are Considerable enough to be so, in Regard of their Quallity and Number.

C. Whether do you take to be the *Greater Number* ; Those that singly wish to be discharg'd from the *Act of Uniformity* ; Or Those that would have *no Law at all* ? Those that are troubled because they may not *Worship* according to their *Fancy* ; Or Those that are displeased because they cannot *Live*, and *Rule* according to their *Appetite* ? The *Traitor* would have *One Law* discharg'd : The *Schismatick*, *Another* : The *Idolater*, a *Third* : The *Sacrilegious Person*, a *Fourth* : The *Prophane Swearer*, a *Fifth* : The *False Swearer*, a *Sixth* : The *Murderer*, a *Seventh* : The *Seducer*, an *Eighth* : And in fine : Not *One* of a *Thousand*, but had rather *Command*, then *Obey*. Shall the King therefore dissolve the *Law*, because there are so many *Criminals* ? That were to raise an Argument against *Authority*, from the very *Reason* of its *Constitution*. Shall the People be left to do what they list, because a *World* of them have a *Mind* to do what they should not ? Shall his Majesty give up his *Government*, for fear of some *Millions* (perchance) in his *Dominions*, that had rather be *Kings*, then *Subjects* ? Less forceable, beyond *Question*, is the *Necessity* of the King's *Granting* a *Toleration*, (if you reckon upon *Numbers*) then That of *Renouncing* his *Sovereignty*. For doubtless, where there is *One Man* that is truly *Scrupulous*, there are *hundreds* of *Avaricious*, *Ambitious*, and otherwise *Irreligious Persons*.

N. C.

Toleration Discuss'd.

N. C. Tell me, I beseech you; Do not you believe that there are more Non-Conformists now, then there were at the beginning of the Late War.

C. Yes, I do verily believe, Three to One.

N. C. Why then 'tis at least Three to One against You: For at That time, the Third Part of This Number was the Predominant Interest of the Nation.

Ex. Coll.
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C. That does not follow; for you may remember, that at the beginning of the late War, The Party were Masters of the Tower, The Navy, of all Considerable Forts, Towns, and Magazines: They had a great part of the Crown and Church Revenues under their Command, and London at their Beck: Beside the Plunder of Malignants, and the Bountiful Contributions of the Well-affected. Scotland was already Confederate with them in *One Rebellion*; and they had made sure of *Another in Ireland* (by Persecuting the Earl of Strafford, who was the only Person Capable of Keeping them Quiet.) Which they further assisted, by a Gross Opposition of his Majesties Proposals, and Resolutions to suppress it. [See the Kings Speech of Decemb. 14. 1641. and the following Petition concerning the same.] Finally, for the better Countenance of their Usurpations, the House of Commons was drawn down into a close Committee, and the Votes of that Junto were Impos'd upon the Nation as the Acts of a Regular, and Complete Authority. This was their Condition formerly; but blessed be God, it is not so at present.

Three Kingdoms are now at Peace; and we have a Parliament that is no Friend to the Faction. The King is Possess of a Considerable Guard, which his Royal Father wanted. The Militia is in safe Hands. His Majesty is likewise possess of his Regal Power, and Revenue: And his Capital City firm in its Obedience: To all which may be added, that although divers Particulars are as Wealthy as Pillage, and Pardon, can make them; Yet they want a Common Stock to carry on a Common Cause. The Thimbles, and Bodkins fail; and the Comfortable In-comes of Irish Adventures; Moneys and Place upon the Propositions; Confiscated Estates; Twentieth Parts; and Weekly Assessments; and a hundred other pecuniary Stratagems are departed from them.

If it be so, that these People have None of these Advantages now remaining, by virtue whereof, they did so much Mischief before; What Necessity of Tolrating for fear of Disobliging Them?

If

N. C. However; It is not for your credit, to say, these People want Conduct, by whom your selves have been worsted.

C. The Men that worsted us, were a sort of People, that Voted down Bishops on the wrong side of the Parliament-house Door; That cry'd, They would have no more Porter's Lodge at Whitehall; and told his Sacred Majesty in a Publique Declaration [August 8. 42.] that The Pretense that his Person was there in Danger, was a Suggestion as false as the Father of Lies could invent.—That Seiz'd the Tower, The Navy, the Kings Towns, Forts, Magazines, Friends, and Revenues; That Levy'd War against, and Imprison'd his Sacred Person; Usurped his Sovereign Authority? Imbrued their Hands in his Royal Blood; and in the very Pulpit, animated, and avowed the Unexampled Murder.

If These be the People which you plead for, under the Notion of Non-Conformists, never trouble your selves to go Nine Mile about, for a Toleration: But come roundly up to the Point, and desire his Majesty to deliver us his Crown. . If it be Otherwise, you have overshot your self in your Challenge; and it does not appear, that you are the Numerous, Politick, and United Party we took you for. If the Non-Conformists were the Principal Conductors in that Design, they are not honest enough to be trusted; and I see no Reason of State, to Dispose the King to Gratifie the Murderers of his Father. If They were not so, it was none of Their Conduct that did the Work.

N. C. If Societies, and Professions, shall be made answerable for the Failings of Particulars, All Communities, and Fellowships will be found blameable alike; for there is no Order, or Way, without Corrupt Pretenders to't: And it is not enough to say, there were Non-Conformists in the Party; unless you prove, that what those Non-Conformists did, was acted upon a Principle, Common to Dissenters; and that they did it, as Non-Conformists.

C. This is a Defence, instead of an Answer; as if I had now charg'd the Combination upon the Non-Conformists, when I only ask, if they were the Managers of it, or No? This, you neither Confess, nor Deny; And there let it rest: Since the Dilemma lies indifferently against you, whether they were, or not, (as does already appear) Touching the Unity you boast of, (I must confess) it is as eminent against your Superiours, as your Disagreements are among your selves. And take all together, I see Nothing made out as yet, to prove, that the

Spotswood
Hist. Scotl.
p. 487.
Ibid p. 479

Kingdom is likely to be either the *Better* for *Granting* a *Toleration*, or *Worse* for *Refusing* it. Moreover, We are not unacquainted with your *false* *Musters*. *Nine* *Presbyteries*, of *Fifty*, made up *One* of your *General Assemblies*. And upon the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, in 1604. of above *Nine Thousand* *Ministers*, there were but *Forty Nine* upon the *Roll*, that stood out, and were deposed: Such a *Noise* (says Spotswood) will a few *Disturbers* cause, in any *Society* where they are *Tolerated*. But what if a Man should allow the *Non-Conformists* to be as valuable as you represent them? It is but a kind of *Pagan* *Argument*, to urge the *Worshipping* of Them (as the *Indians* do the *Devil*) for fear they should hurt us.

N. C. They that have a Power to do Hurt, have commonly a Power to do Good; And no doubt of it, the *Non-Conformists*, under the *Obligation* of an *Indulgence*, would shew themselves as serviceable to the *Common Good*, as any sort of People whatsoever.

C. What they will do, is uncertain; What they have done, is upon Record, in Characters of Blood. Give me but One Instance, even since the Reformation, where *England*, or *Scotland* was ever the better for Them (any otherwise, then by God's Extraordinary Working of Good out of Evil, and Take the Cause.

N. C. I would it were put upon that Issue.

SECT. VIII.

The *Non-Conformists* Plea for *Toleration*, from the
MERITS of the Party.

C. **W**Hat has your Party *Merited* from the *Publique*, that an *Exception* to a *General Rule* should be *Granted* in your *Favour*?

N. C. Many of Us ventur'd All, to save the Life of the late King.

C. And yet ye ventur'd more to take it away: For ye did but *Talk* for the *One*; and ye *Fought* for the *Other*.

N. C. We ever abominated the Thought of *Murdering* him.

C. You

C. You should have abominated the Money too, for which ye sold Him.

N. C. *Who sold him ?*

C. The *Presbyterians* sold Him ; and the *Independents* were the *Purchasers*.

N. C. *Did not the Presbyterians Vote His Majesties Concessions a Ground for a Treaty ?*

C. Yes ; but it was upon Conditions, worse then Death it self. They deliver'd Him up too, when they might have preserved him : And they stickled for Him, when they knew they could do Him no Good.

N. C. *What End could they have in That ?*

C. The very same End in —48, which they had in—41 : To make a Party by it, and set up a *Presbyterian Interest* in the *King's Name*.

N. C. *All the World knows, We were so much afflicted for his Sacred Majesties Distress, that We had many Solemn days of Humiliation for it.*

C. So ye had for his *Successes* (when Time was) for fear he should get the Better of Ye : And you had your days of *Thanksgiving* too, for his *Disasters*.

N. C. *Pray'e let me ask You One Question now : Who brought in this King ?*

C. They that would not suffer You to keep him out : That Party, which, by a Restless, and Incessant Loyalty, hindred your Establishment.

N. C. *And what do you think of the Secluded Members ?*

C. We'l speak to that Point in another Place. But can you tell me What was the Ground of the Quarrel ? I suppose I need not tell you What was the Event of it.

N.C. Religion, and Liberty.

C. Of Which Side were the *Tender Consciences* ? For the King ; Or Against Him ?

N.C. *We were ever for the King ; Witness our Petitions, Declarations, and, in a most Signal manner, Our Solemn League and Covenant.*

C. Now I thought you had been *against* Him : because You took away his *Revenue, Authority, and Life* : Unless you mean that you were *For* Him in your *Words*, as you were *Against* Him in your *Actions*.

N.C. *There were many of Us, that lov'd the King as well as any of those about Him.*

C. According to the *Covenant* (That is) And does not your Party love *This King*, as well as they did the *Last* ? I do not think but you love the *Bishops* too.

N.C. *Truly when they are out of their Fooleries, I have no Quarrel to the Men. But what makes you couple the Crown, and the Mitre still ? As if no Man could be a Good Subject, that is disaffected to Prelacy.*

C. Why truly, I think you can hardly shew me any *One Non-Conformist* that ever struck Stroke for the *King* ; Or any true Son of the *Episcopal Order* of the Church, that ever bore Arms *against* Him.

● N.C. *Are not you your self satisfied that even Cromwel Himself, and divers of his Principal Officers, when the late King was at Hampton-Court, had Deliberations, and Intentions to Save Him ? and that there were Thousands in the Army, that had no Unkindness for his Majesty ?*

C. I do absolutely believe, both the *One*, and the *Other* ; and that the *Folly, and Heedlessness* of the *Common Souldier* contributed, in a High Measure to the *General Fate* : Nay, that his Late Majesty was oppress'd, even by those, that thought they fought *for* him, before they understood what they did. But yet let me Commend to your Observation, that these relenting *Intervals* in the *Heads* of the *Army*, did manifestly *Vary*, according to the Pulse of their *Affairs*. Which evinces, that it was a *Deliberation*, upon the matter of *Convenience*, rather

rather then upon a Point of *Conscience*. But thus far however we are agreed ; That *many* of the *Non-Conformists* were engaged ; Whether upon *Ignorance*, *Interest*, or *Faction*, take your Choice. That is to say, upon which of these three you will found the *Merits* of your *Party*.

We are next to Enquire, How far your *Principles*, and *Actions*, will comport with the *Duties* of *Society*, and the *Ends* of *Government*.

SECT. IX.

The Non-Conformists Plea for Toleration, from the Innocence, and Modesty of their Opinions and Practises.

C. IN the Question of *Government*, and *Obedience*, there are many Points, wherein the *Non-Conformists* agree ; many more wherein they differ : and not a few wherein they are altogether *Fluctuant*, and *Uncertain*. We have Nothing to do (in this Place) with their *Disagreements*, or *Uncertainties* ; save only in those Matters wherein they are United by *Common Consent* : And to Determine what those are, will be a new Difficulty, unlesse you tell us before-hand, what *Authorities* we may depend upon. Your *Principles* must be *Known*, or they cannot be *Examined*. ; wherefore, pray'e, direct us where we may finde them.

N.C. Why truly in the History of the Reformation ; for this Controversie has been on foot from the very beginning of it, to this day.

C. If you speak of the *Reformation beyond the Seas*, I do not finde any thing there, that comes near our Purpose. Here is, first, pretended, a *Reformation of a Reformation* ; Secondly, a *Conjunction* of *Several Parties*, and *Perswasions*, at utter *Enmity* one with another, in a *Confederacy* against the Order of *Government* : Whereas in the great Turn of Affairs *Abroad*, I see little more then a *Defection* from the Church of *Rome*, and People settling themselves in some *other* way, as well as they could. *Muncer's* Party in *Germany*, had (I confess) some resemblance of the Tumults here in *England*, that Usher'd in the Late War ; both for the *Medly*, and the *Rabble*. In *Scotland* indeed, there was a Contest, for the *Reforming* of a *Reformation* ; and it went high ; bnt it was only a Struggle for the *Geneva-Discipline* : which Humour was brought over to *Us* too, and driven on

Toleration Discus'd.

on, for a while, under *Q. Elizabeth*, with much *Contumacy*, and *Bitterness*. But our Case (in short) was never known in the Christian world, till the Late Troubles; and thither it is, that we must resort for satisfaction to our present Enquiry. Now whether you'll be tried by the *Declarations, Votes, Orders, and Ordinances* of that Pretended *Parliament* that carry'd on the Quarrel; or by the undeniable *Doctrines, and Positions* of your own *Divines*; (and those the very *Idols* of your *Party*) is left at your Election.

N.C. *As for the Parliament; let them answer for themselves: We had no hand in their Proceedings. And for our Ministers, They were but Men, and may have their Failings as well as other People. If you would know our Principles: We are for Worshiping according to the Light of Our Consciences, for Obeying God rather than Man; and for yielding all due Obedience to the Civil Magistrate.*

C. All This comes to Nothing. For you may make that *Light* what you please; and Qualifie that *due Obedience* as you list. What does all this Evasion, and Obscurity signifie; but that there is somewhat in the bottom, more then you are willing to own?

There are a sort of People, that tell us, *The War raised in—41, in the Name of King and Parliament, was Lawful. And That the Sovereignty was divided between the Two Houses, (Nay in the People) in Case of a Rebellion. That Kings are but the Peoples Trustees; Their Power limited; and the Duty of Subjects only Conditional. That Princes may be Depos'd: Nay, and put to Death, in case of Tyranny: And That their Persons may be Resisted, but not their Authority. That the King is Singulis Major, Universis Minor: And that the People may Enter into Covenant, for the Reformation of Religion, without the Consent of the Chief Magistrate, nay, against his Authority; and Propagate Religion by the Sword. They make their Appeals, from the Literal Construction of Law to the Equitable; from the Law Written, to the Law of Nature, and Necessity.*

A Man might ply you with fresh Instances upon this Subject, till to morrow morning; but here we'll stop: And pray'e speak your Opinion now, of Granting a *Toleration*, to a *Party* that *Professes*, and *Teaches*, these Principles: and *Acts* accordingly.

N. C. *What is all This to the Non-Conformists? Who are already come to an Agreement; that, In the Question of Toleration, The Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government, is to be Secured.*

C. Very

Toleration Discuss'd.

31

C. Very Good. So that what *Party* soever shall be found Guilty of the *Positions* aforesaid, and of *Actions* answerable thereunto, cannot reasonably pretend to a *Toleration*, from the *Innocency* of their *Opinions* and *Practises*. Now to *Particulars*.

The POSITIONS of divers Eminent Non-Conformists.

I. The *War* raised by the *Two Houses* in the Name of *King* and *Parliament*, 1641. was *Lawful*.

[I cannot see, that I was mistaken in the main Cause, nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the same, if it were to do again, in the same State of Things.— And my Judgement tells me, that if I should do otherwise, I should be guilty of Treason or Disloyalty, against the Sovereign Power of the Land, Pag. 486. *Baxters Holy Comm. cal. Printed 1659.*

A King, abusing his Power, to the Overthrow of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, may be Controuled and Opposed: This may serve to justify the Proceedings of this Kingdom against the Late King, who in a Hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws, and Liberties, Pag. 10. *Donglafs Sermon, Preacht at Scoone, Ja. 1. 1659 Printed 1660.*

The Righteousness of the Parliaments Cause, is as clear, as the Sun at Noon-day. And, like the Law of God in self, in these Excellent Qualifications of it, that it is Holy, Just, and Good, P. 6. *J. Goodwins Anti-Cavalierism.*

II. The *Lords* and *Commons* are the *Supreme Power*; Nay, the *People*, in case of *Necessity*.

Parliaments may judge of Publique Necessity, without the King; (If deserted by the King) and are to be accompted, by vertue of Representation, as the whole Body of the State, P. 45. *The Observer.*

Whensoever a King, or other Superior Authority, creates an Inferiour; they Invest it with a Legitimacy of Magistratical Power to Punish Themselves also, in case they prove Evil-doers, P. 7. *Right and Might well met, Am. 1648.*

England is a mixt Monarchy, and Governed by the major part of the Three Estates Assembled in Parliament. P. 111. *Parliament-Physick.*

The Houses are not only requisite to the Acting of the Power of making Laws, but Co-ordinate with his Majesty, in the very Power of Acting, P. 42. *Ahab's Fall.*

Whenas a Part of the Legislative Power resides in the Two Houses, as also a Power to redress Grievances, and to call into Question all Ministers of State, and Justice, and all Subjects, of whatsoever Degree, in case *Interest of Engl. in matters of Religion, 1660.*

case of Delinquency; It may be thought, that a Part of the Supreme Power doth reside in Them, though they have not the Honorary Title: And this Part of the Supreme Power, is indeed capable of doing wrong; yet how it might be guilty of Rebellion, is more difficult to conceive, P. 49.

The Peoples Cause stated, An. 1662. The Delegates of the People, in the House of Commons, and the Commissioners on the Kings behalf, in the House of Peers, concurring; do very far binde the King, if not wholly, P. 112. and when these cannot agree, but break, one from another, the Commons in Parliament assembled, are Ex Officio, The Keepers of the Liberties of the Nation, and Righteous Possessors, and Defenders of it, against all Usurpers, and Usurpations whatsoever. P. 130.

III. Kings are but the Peoples TRUSTEES; Their Power, Fiduciary; and the Duty of Subjects, Conditional.

[The King is but the Servant of the People; and his Royalty is only a Virtual Emanation from them; and in Them, radically, as in the first Subject.] So Rutherford, Parker, Goodwin, Bridges, Milton, &c.

Lex Rex. An. 1644. The People can give no other Power, then such as God has given Them: And God has never given a moral Power to do Evil. All Fiduciary Power, abused, may be repealed; And Parliamentary Power is no Other: Which, if it be abused, The People may repeal it; and resist them; Annulling their Commissions; Rescinding their Acts; and Denuding Them of their Fiduciary Power. Even as the King Himself may be denuded of the same Power by the Three Estates. P. 152.

Jus Populi, 1644. Princes derive their Power, and Prerogative from the People; and have their Investures, meerly for the Peoples Benefit. P. 1.

Declarat. touching the 4 Bills, Mar. 13. 1647. It is the King's Duty to pass all such Laws, as Both Houses shall judge Good for the Kingdom: Upon a Supposition That They are Good, Which by them are judged Such.

Vindicia contra Tyrannos: Printed 1648. If the Prince fail in his Promise, the People are Exempt from their Obedience; The Contract is made Void, and the Right of Obligation is of no Force—it is therefore permitted to the Officers of a Kingdom, either All, or some good Number of them, to Suppress a Tyrant. P. 120, 121.

IV. Princes may be DEPOSED, and put to DEATH, in Case of Tyranny.

Tenure of Kings, 1549. Every Worthy Man, in Parliament, may, for the Publick Good, be thought a fit Peer, and Judge of the King. P. 24.

Where

Where there is no opportunity for the Interposure of Other Judges, the Law of Nature, and the Law of Nations allow Every Man to Judge in his own Case. P. 34.

If a Prince wants such Understanding, Goodness, or Power, as the People judge necessary to the Ends of Government; In the first place; He is Capable of the Name, but not of the Government. In the Second; He Deposeth Himself. In the Third; The want of Power, Deposeth him. *These* 135, 136, 137.

It is lawful for any, who have the Power, to call to Accompt, a Tyrant, or Wicked King; And after due Conviction, to Depose, and put him to Death, if the Ordinary Magistrate have Neglected, or Deny'd to do it.

It is not impossible, for a King, Regis Personam Exuere; In a Natural Or MORAL Madness or Frenzy to turn Tyrant, Yea Beast, Waving his Royal Place, Violently, Extrajudicially, Extramagisterially to assault his Subjects, as Saul did David. In this Case, Men think Nature doth Dictate it; and Scripture doth Justifie a Man, *Se Defendendo Vim Vi repellere*. P. 23.

The Real Sovereignty among Us, was in King, Lords, and Commons; and if the King raise War against such a Parliament: The King may not only be resisted, but Ceaseth to be a King. *These* 358.

The Lord rent the Kingdom from Saul, for sparing One Agag; and for want of thorough Extirpation of all the accursed Things, He lost both Thanks for What He had done, and Kingdom also. P. 27.

Let no Law hinder Ye: If Law be to be broken, it is for a Crown; and therefore, for Religion.—Ye are set over Kingdoms; to Root out, Pull down, Destroy, and Throw down: Do it quickly, Do it thoroughly.

By what Rule of Conscience, or God, is a State Bound to Sacrifice Religion, Laws, and Liberties, rather then endure, that the Princes Life should come into any Possibilities of Hazard, by Defending them, against those that in his Name are bent to subdue them? If he will needs thrust Himself upon the Hazard, when He needs not, Whose Fault is That?

There never was a Greater Harmony of the Laws of Nature, Reason, Prudence, and Necessity, to Warrant any Act, then may be found, and discern'd in that Act of Justice on the Late King. P. 18.

Touching the Righteousness of the Sentence past upon the King; Doubtless never was any Person under Heaven, Sentenc'd with Death upon more Equitable, and Just Grounds. P. 90.

Praised be God, Who hath deliver'd us from the Impositions of Prelatical Innovations, Altar-Genu-flections, and Cringings, with Crossings, and All that Popish Trash and Trumpery. And truly (I speak

Goodwins
Defence of
the Kings
Sentence.

Mr. Baxter's
Holy
Common-
wealth.

Tenure of
Kings,
1649.

A Survey
of the
grand
Case, prin-
ted 1663.

Mr. Baxter's
Holy
Common-
wealth.

Mr. Fair-
cloth be-
fore the
Commons
M. Sym-
son.

Scripture
and Rea-
son for de-
fensive
Arms,
1643.

English
Translati-
on of the
Scotts De-
claration.

Defence of
the Kings
Sentence.
Jo. Good-
win.

The Poli-
ty of Prin-
ces.

Toleration Discuss'd.

no more then what I have often thought, and said) The Removal of those Insupportable Burdens, Countervails for the Blood and Treasure shed and spent in these late Distractions: Nor did I ever as yet hear of any Godly Men that desired, were it Possible, to Purchase their Friends, or Money again, at so dear a Rate, as with the Return of These: to have Those Soul-Burdening, Antichristian Yokes re-imposed upon Us. And if any such there be, I am sure, that Desire is no part of their Godliness; and I profess my self, in That, to be none of the Number. P. 23.

V. The Persons of Princes may be resisted, though not their Authority.

Lex Rex. The Man who is King, may be resisted, but not the Royal Office: The King in Concreto, but not the King in Abstracto. P. 265. [He may be resisted in a Pitch't Battel, and with Swords, and Guns. 324. That is; His Private Will may be resisted, not his Legal Will. 269. Neither is He in the Field, as a King, but as an unjust Invader, and Graffator. 334. If He chance to be Slain, 'Tis but an Accident; and who can help it? 324. He is guilty of his own Death; Or let Them answer for't that brought Him thither, The Contrary Party is Innocent. 273.]

Mr. War's Analysis of the Covenant. The King's Authority is with the Two Houses; though the Person of Charles Stuart be not there.

English Translation. His Capacity was at Westminster, when his Body was upon the Scaffold at White-hall, &c. P. 18.

VI. The King is Singulis Major, Universis Minor.

Lex Rex. The King is in Dignity Inferior to the People. P. 140. The Sovereign Power is Eminently, Fontaliter; Originally, and Radically in the People. 156.

De Monarchia Absoluta. Detrahere Indigno Magistratum etsi Privati non Debeant, Populus tamen Universus quin possit; Nemo, Opinor, dubitabit. It is not for Private Persons to Depose a Wicked Governour: But that the Universality of the people may Lawfully do it, I think no Body questions. Fixum Ratumque habeatur, Populi semper esse debere Supremam Magistratam P. 9.

VII. The People may enter into a Covenant for Reformation, without the Consent of the Chief Magistrate.

Mr. Caryl at taking the Covenant. There is much Sin in making a Covenant on Sinful Grounds, and there is more Sin in Keeping it; But when the Preservation of true Religion,

Religion, and the Vindication of Just Liberties meet in the Ground, Ye may Swear, and not Repent; Yea, if Ye Swear, Ye must not Repent. P. 18. Not only is That Covenant which God hath made with Us, founded in the Blood of Christ; but That also, which We make with God. P. 33.

The Breach of the National Covenant is a Greater Sin, then a Sin The Phœ against a Commandment, or against an Ordinance. 158.—A Sin of nix, E. G. so high a Nature, that God cannot in Honour but be avenged upon't. 159.

VIII. Religion may be Propagated by the Sword.

The Question in England is, Whether Christ, or Anti-Christ, shall be Lord, or King? Go on therefore Courageously: Never can ye lay out your Blood in such a Quarrel. Christ shed all his Blood to save You from Hell. Venture All Yours, to set Him upon his Throne. P. 32.

Cursed be he that withholdeth his Sword from Bloud; that spares, when God saith Strike; that suffers those to escape, whom God has appointed to Destruction. P. 24.

In the 10 of Numbers, you shall read, that there were Two Silver Trumpets; and as there were Priests appointed for the Convocation of their Assemblies, so there were Priests to sound the Silver Trumpets to Proclaim the War. And likewise in the 20 of Deuteronomy, you shall find there, that when the Children of Israel would go out to War, the Sons of Levi (one of the Priests) was to make a Speech to Encourage them. And certainly, if this were the Way of God in the Old Testament; certainly, much more in such a Cause as This, in which Cause, Religion is so entwin'd, and indeed so enterlac'd, that Religion, and This Cause, are like Hippocrates his Twins, they must live, and dye together.

You have vowed in the Covenant to Assist the Forces raised by the Parliament, according to your Power, and Vocation; and not to assist the Forces raised by the King, neither Directly, nor Indirectly. P. 45. Now let me exhort you, not only to chuse to serve God, and to serve his Church, and his Cause, in this most Just Defensive War, &c. 46.

In vain shall you in your Faits, with Josua, ly on your Faces, unless you lay your Achans on their Backs: In vain are the High Praises of God in your Mouthes, without a Two-edged Sword in your Hands. P. 31.

The Execution of Indgement is the Lords Work, and they shall be Cursed that do it Negligently; and Cursed shall they be that keep back their Sword from Blood in this Cause. You know the Story of Gods Mes- sage unto Ahab, for letting Benhadad go up in Composition. P. 26.

Whensoever you shall behold the hand of God, in the Fall of Babylon,

Marshalls
Sacred Pa-
negyrick.
Mr. Case
before the
Commons
1444.

Mr. Cala-
my's speech
at Guild-
hall, 1643.

Mr. Cala-
my's No-
blemans
Pattern.
1643.

Mr. Herle
before the
House of
Lords.
1663.

M. Strick-
land on a
Thank-
giving.
1644.

Mr. Brid-
gei on Rev.
48. say, True; Here is a Babylonish Priest crying out, Alas! Alas! My Living; I have Wife and Children to Maintain. I: but all this is to perform the Judgment of the Lord: P. 30. Though as Little Ones, they call for Pitty, yet as Babylonish, they call for Justice, even to Blood.

IX. There lies an Appeal from the Letter of the Law, to the Equity of it; and from the Law written, to the Law of Nature.

Ex. Coll.
P. 150. The Commander going against the EQUITY of the Law, gives Liberty to the Commanded, to refuse Obedience to the Letter of it.

An. 1642.
Lex Rex. There is a Court of Necessity, no less then a Court of Justice; and the Fundamental Laws must then speak: and it is with a People, in this Extremity, as if they had no Ruler. P. 113. The People have given the Politique Power to the King; and the NATURAL Power they reserve to Themselves. 151.

Ibid.
Right and
Might. All Humane Laws and Constitutions are made with Knees, to bend to the Law of NATURE and NECESSITY. P. 85.

Here is more then enough said already; and to go on as far as the Matter would carry us, there would be no End on't.

You are now at Liberty, either to deny These to be the Positions of the Non-Conformists; or to justify the Positions themselves; or to lay down your Plea for Toleration, upon the Innocency of their Principles.

N.C. I am no Friend to These Positions: Neither can I yet quit my Claim, unless you make it out, that These are the Principles of the Party, which I take to be only the Errours of Individuals.

C. Shew me the Party, and let me alone to prove These to be Their Principles. But if you will acknowledg a Party, they are (as you say) but the Errours of Individuals; though all the Non-Conformists in the Three Kingdoms should own them under their Hands.

You call yourselves Non-Conformists, and so were they, that both began, and carried on the Late War. Great Apprehensions they had of the Designs of the Popish Party. [So have you.] Mightily offended they were at the Immoderate Power of the Bishops. [You again.] Petitioners for the taking away such Oppressions in Religion, Church Government; and Discipline; as had been brought in, and Fomented by them. [Your very Picture still.] And for Uniting all such together, as joyn in the same Fundamental Truths, against the Papists: by removing some Oppressions,

Oppressions, and Unnecessary Ceremonies, by which, Divers weak Consciences have been scrupled, and seem to be divided from the rest. [The very Platform of your Comprehension.] Thus far You march Hand in Hand: I need not tell you what followed upon't; but Your Parts are so much alike, that it looks as if We were now again upon the first Scene of the same Tragedy. For a Conclusion, Conformity, or In-Conformity, seem'd at first to be the Sum of the Question: and the Discipline of the Church was made the Ground of the Quarrel. The Ruling Party in the Pretended Parliament, were Non-Conformists: The Army, Non-Conformists; The Pretended Assembly of Divines were Non-Conformists; The City-Ministers, and Lecturers, Non-Conformists; And by the Solemn League and Covenant, every Man that took it, was to be a Non-Conformist, upon pain of Damnation. Now take Your Choice, (since Non-Conformists you are) Whether you'll Range your selves under the Parliament; Your Army; Your Assembly; Your City-Ministers; Or Your Solemn League and Covenant: And let me bear the Blame, If I make it not as clear as the Day, That the Principles charg'd upon You, are the Principles of Your Party.

As to your Practises, they have been suitable to your Positions, and all those violences have been exercised upon the Government, that were first Dictated in the Pulpit. The Lawfulness of Popular Insurrections: Of Deposing, and putting Kings to death, under the cloak of Reformation; has been vented as the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, even by the Oracles of your Cause: Nay; and several of them (at present) eager Asserters of the Equity of a Toleration. And what has been the Fruit of these Unchristian Lectures; but the Subversion both of Church and State: And the Murder of a Pious, and Gracious Prince, under Pretence of Doing God and the Kingdome Good Service?

N. C. These are Actions (I confess) not to be warranted; but yet my Charity persuades me, that a great part of the Mischief they did, proceeded rather from Necessity, than Inclination.

C. Will ye see then what they did afterward, when they were at Liberty to do what they list?

They had no sooner Murdered the Father, but immediately (a) They made it Death to Proclaim the Son. (b) They abolish'd Kingly Government. (c) Sold the Crown-Lands. (d) Declared it Treason to deny the Supremacy of the Commons. (e) Nulled all Honours and Titles granted

Scobell

Art. 37.

(a) Part. 2;

P. 3.

(b) P. 7.

(c) P. 52.

(d) P. 65.

(e) P. 178.

Granted by the King since—41. (f) Made Scotland One Commonwealth with England, &c.

Have they now kept any better touch with the *Liberty and Property* of the Subjects? Let their Proceedings Witness for them; (a) As their Tax upon the Fifth and Twentieth Part. (b) Excise upon Flesh, Viſtuals, and Salt. (c) A new Excise upon ~~all~~ Copperas, Monmouth-Caps, Hops, Saffron, Starch, &c. (d) A Loan of 66666 l. 13 s. 4d. for Supply of the Scots. (e) An Assessment for the Maintenance of the Army. (f) The House of Peers Abolish'd; and a Monthly Tax of 90000 l. for the Army. (g) A Monthly Tax of 120000 l. (h) An Imposition upon Coal. (i) A Monthly Assessment of 60000 l. Not to clog the Discourse with over many Particulars: We'll see next, what They have done, toward the Moderating of the Power of Bishops, and the Removal of Unnecessary Ceremonies. (k) The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury suspended, and his Temporalities Sequestered. (l) Monuments of Superstition Demolish'd; (That is in short, an Ordinance for Sacrilege). (m) The Book of Common-Prayer laid aside, and the Directory Commanded instead of it. (n) Arch-Bishops and Bishops abolish'd, and their Lands settled in Trustees. (o) Their Lands exposed to Sale. (p) Festivals abolish'd. (q) Deans and Chapters, &c. Abolish'd: And their Lands to be sold.

This is Your Way, OF MODERATING the Power of Bishops, and of REMOVING UNNECESSARY CEREMONIES. And This is the History (in Little) of the Opinions, and Practises of your Party; Drawn from matter of Fact; Provable to a Syllable; and deliver'd without any Amplification of the Matter.

N C. Ill things have been done, there's no Question on't; But they have been done by Ill Men: And 'tis not a Toleration of Faction that We pretend to, but a Toleration of Conscience.

C. Which Toleration (upon farther search) will be found to be a meer Utopian Project, or Worse.

SECT. X.

The Non-Conformists demand a Toleration, which is neither Intelligible in the Whole, nor Practicable, so far as it may be Understood.

C. *IT makes a great Noise in the World, the Out-cry of the Non-Conformists, for Toleration, Indulgence, Liberty of Conscience, Comprehension, &c. Let them but set it down in a Clear, Practicable, and Intelligible Proposition, and I dare say, They shall have it for the asking.*

N. C. We do Propound, That Reformed Christianity may be settled in its DUE LATITUDE:

Disc. of
Relig.
Title pag.

By Reformed Christianity, I suppose you intend the Protestant Religion: But your DUE LATITUDE is of a Suspicious Intimation. Do not you remember a Declaration of the Two Houses (April 9. 1642.) for a DUE, and Necessary Reformation of the Government, and Liturgy of the Church: And Nothing to be taken away, either in the One, or in the Other, but what should be found evil, and justly Offensive; Or, at least, Unnecessary, and Burdensome? This Due Reformation ended (as you may remember) in a Total Extirpation of Both Liturgy and Government: And we see nothing to the contrary, but Your DUE LATITUDE may signifie the very same thing with Their DUE REFORMATION. Pray be a little Clearer.

Ex. Coll.
p. 135.

N. C. Then to put all out of doubt? I would in the first place have An Establish'd Order: Secondly, A Limited Toleration: Thirdly, A Discreet Connivance.

Disc. of
Relig.
part 1.
p. 28.

The Parties comprehended in the Establishment, to be of Importance in the Publique Interest; and of Principles congruous to such Stated Order in the Church, as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires.

I would have the Toleration, to Extend to Those that are of Sound Belief, and Good Life; yet have taken in some Principles of Church-Government less congruous to National Settlement.

Disc. of
Relig.
p. 11. r.
p. 38.

And for Connivance; It is to be remitted to Discretion.

C. What

Toleration Discuss'd.

C. What is all this now, but an *Universal Toleration*, in a *Disguise*? Some to be *Comprehended* within the *Establishment*? Others to be *Tolerated*; And the *Rest* to be *Connived at*.

Again; Your *Establishment* is to be of a *Latitude*, to take in several sorts of *Dissenters*, under such and such *Qualifications*. They must be of *Importance* to the *Publique Interest*; and of *Principles Congruous* to such *Stated Order* in the *Church*, as the *Stability* of the *Commonwealth* requires. Ask the *Dissenters Themselves* concerning their own *Qualifications*, and They'll tell you, that they are all of them of *Important Interests*, and of *Congruous Principles*: So that this way, you are still upon an *Universal Toleration*. But on the *Other Side*, if You Consult *Authority* about your *Comprehension*, The *Preface* to the *Act for Uniformity* will tell You, that the *Establishment* is as wide already as the *Peace* of the *Nation* will well bear. If you'll *Acquiesce* in *This Judgment*, the *Case* is determined to our *Hand*: If you *Appeal* from it, You cast your selves out of the *Pale* of your own *Project*, because of your *Principles Incongruous* to the *Reason* of *Government*.

N. C. But it appears to us, that the *Stated Order* of the *Church* may be widen'd without any *Check* to the *Stability* of *Government*.

C. And what will this avail You, if it appears otherwise to the *Governours Themselves*? If They may be *Judges*, the *Strife* is at an *End*; but if you think to help your selves by *Translating* the *Judgment* to the *People*; After that *Day*, let us never expect any other *Law*, then the *Dictate* of the *Rabble*. It removes the very *Foundations* of the *Government*, and Carries Us headlong into *Anarchy*, and *Confusion*, without *Redemption*.

If a Man should ask you now, about Your *Importance* in *Publique Interest*; First; as to the *Interest* it self, Whether you mean an *Interest* of *Raising Men*, and *Moneys*; Or *What Other*? Next; as to the *Degree*, and *Measure* of your *Importance*; How many *Regiments* of the *One*, and How many *Millions* of the *Other*, makes up that *Importance*? Would you not take *Time* for an *Answer*?

And then, We are as much at a *Loss* about Your [*Such Stated Order in the Church as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires*] You give Us no *Satisfaction* at all, *Wherein* the *Stability* of the *Commonwealth* consists; Or *What Stated Order* in the *Church* that *Stability* requires: But here is a kind of a *Moot Point* cast in, betwixt *Authority*, and the *People*, *Which* of the *Two* shall *Determin*, npon That *Congruity*, and *Convenience*.

Your

Your *Limited Toleration* too stands or falls upon the *Same Bottom*, with Your *Comprehension*: That is to say, Who shall Judge of the *Sound Belief*, and *Good Life* of the *Pretendents* to that *Indulgence*.

As to your *Connivence*, You say Nothing of it your self; and I shall Reflect as little upon it.

Let me not only Observe Upon the Whole; that if you had really a Mind to set Us right, Methinks, You should not Trifle Us with these *Ambiguities*, and *Amusements*: But rather endeavour by some *Pertinent, Intelligible, and Practicable Proposition*, to bring Us to a better Understanding. Say, *What Injunctions* you would have abated; Name the *Parties* You would Recommend for their *Importance of Interests, Congruity of Principles, Sound Faith, and Good Life*, Teach us how to know these *Qualities*, Where to look for them, and Who shall Judge of Them. Let it be made out, That the Present *Solicitors for Tender Consciences*, are duly *Authorized*, and *Commission'd* to Act as the *Trustees* of the *Respective Parties*. Do This; and Matters may be brought yet to a *Comfortable Issue*: But so long as you place the *Conditions* of your *Indulgence* out of the *Reach* of *Ordinary Proof*, and indeed, of *Humane Knowledge*, Every Man that is *Excluded*, shall dispute his Title to the *Comprehension*, without any Possibility of being Confuted? to the *Scandal of Religion*, and to the *Perpetual Trouble*, Both of *King, and People*.

N. C. To set forth the *Propounded Latitude*, in the *Particular Limits* thereof, were *Presumptuous*, both in Reference to *Superiors*, and to the *Party Concerned* in it.

C. As if it were not a greater *Presumption*, to *Alienate* the *Affections* of the *People* from their *Superiors*, by Reflecting upon the *Iniquity* of the *Government*, then by the Tender of some *Rational Medium* of *Accord*, to Dispose the *Hearts* of *Superiors* to a Compliance with the *Prayers*, and *Necessities* of the *People*. But there is more in these *Generalities*, and *Reserves* then the *Multitude* are well aware of; and I am afraid, it will be as hard a matter, to bring you to an *Agreement* about the *Particular Parties* to be *Tolerated*, as about the *Model* it self.

Disc. of
Rel. par.
2, p. 22.

SECT. XI.

The Non-Conformists demand a Toleration for no body knows WHOM, or WHAT.

C. **T**He Non-Conformists are the Party that desire a Toleration; Pray let me ask ye, What are their Opinions? What are their Names? For, I presume, you will not expect a Toleration, for No Body knows What, or Whom. Are they all of a Mind? If They were Tolerated Themselves, Would they Tolerate One Another? Are They come to any Resolution upon Articles? Are They agreed upon any Model of Accommodation? Do They know What They would be At? Or is it in the Wit of Man, to Contrive a Common Expedient to Oblige them?

N. C. *There's no Body says, that they are All of a Mind; Or that it is Possible to please them all; Or Reasonable to Endeavour it. There are Divers among them, whose Principles will never endure any Order either in Church, or State. But what is the Sober Part the Worse for these Extravagants? Those I mean, who are ready to Justifie themselves; even according to the Strictness of your own Measures.*

C. If You are for such a Toleration, as shall Exclude the Wild, and Ungovernable Sects of Dissenters; How comes it, that, in Your Writings, and Argumentations, You still plead the General Cause of Non-Conformists, without any Exception, or Distinction?

N. C. *You are not to fasten a Charge of this Quality upon Us; that have already submitted Our selves, not only to the Moderation of a Limited Indulgence, but to your own Conditions also, under that very Limitation.*

C. This you have done, I must confess, in General Terms; But still I say, as to Particulars, Your Discourses are of such a Frame and Biass, as to give Credit, and Encouragement, to Every Sect of the Whole Party.

Disc. of
Relig. Par
2. P. 41.

N. C. I am of a Perswasion but not of a Party: and whatsoever my Perswasion be, it is Moderate, Catholick, and Pacifick,

C. An

C. And so is every Man's, if his own Word may be taken for his own Perswasion. But why are ye so Nice, and Cautious, in the owning of a Particular Way, and Profession; and yet so Franck, and Open, in a Clamor, for the Whole Party? You Complain that you are persecuted and yet Obstruct the Means of your own Relief. Some, Ye say, are to be Indulged; Others, Not. How shall Authority Distinguish of Which Number You your selves are; so long as you remain under this Concealment? Are You for the Presbyterians?

N. C. I am not ashamed of their Company, that are Commonly called Disc. of by That Name: Yet I have no Pleasure in such Names of Distinction. Relig. Neither my Design, nor my Principles, engage me to maintain the Presbyterial Government. part 1. p. 45.

C. Are You Independent then?

N. C. Neither. But yet I am (as I told you) for Tolerating Those Disc. of of Sound Faith, and Good Life, That have taken up some Principles Relig. of Church Government less Congruous to National Settlement. part 2. p. 38.

C. What Do you think of the Anabaptists, Brownists, Quakers, &c?

N. C. Why truly, So it is, That Prudent, and Pious Men may be Ibid. of Exceeding Narrow Principles, about Church-Order, and Fellowship: Toward Whom, Christian Charity pleadeth for Indulgence; and, We hope, Political Prudence dorch not gainsay it.

C. So that you are For All Parties, but not OF Any. Which Generality gives to Understand, that your Business is rather a Confederacy, then a Scruple.

N. C. Make That Good if you can.

SECT. XII.

The Conjunct Importunity of the Non-Conformists for a Toleration, is not grounded upon Matter of Conscience.

N. C. You are the first Person certainly that ever undertook to make Proof of a Conscience.

C. And yet Our Saviour tells Us, (in This very Case of *Hypocrisie*) the Tree may be known by its Fruits : But however : the best way of Proving a Thing Feasible, is the Doing of it.

The Non-Conformists refuse Communication with the Church : What is it They boggle at ?

(a) Disc. of N.C. { a) They do esteem the Ceremonies an Excess in the Worship of God. Pag. 31. (b) [And Dissent from the Present Establishment of Religion, only in things relating to Outward Order, and Worship. Pa, Par. 2. 12. (c) About the Choice of some Peculiar Ways of Worship. Pa. 12. (b) Peace- Offering. (d) But as to the English Reformation, Established by Law, They heartily Embrace it, and Assent to the Doctrine of Faith contained in the Articles of the Church of England. Pa. 22. (e) They have no New Faith to Declare : No New Doctrine to Teach ; No Private Opinions to Divulge ; No Point, or Truth to Profess, which hath not been Declared, (d) Disc. of Relig. par. 1. Taught, Divulged, and Esteem'd, as the Common Doctrine of the Church of England, ever since the Reformation. Pa. 11. (f) They come (e) Peace- Offering. up to a Full Agreement, in all Material Things, with Them, from whom they Dissent. Pa. 30. (f) Indulg. & Toler.

C. If They Agree in all Material Things, it follows, that they Divide about Matters Inconsiderable : and Break the Order, Peace, and Unity of the Church for Trifles. (Things Indifferent, and relating to Outward Order, and Worship.)

Disc. of Relig. par. 3. N.C. In Prescribed Forms and Rites of Religion, The Conscience will interpose, and concern it self ; and cannot resign it self to the Dictates of Men, in the Points of Divine Worship. And Those Injunctions, which to the Imposers, are Indifferent ; in the Consciences of the Dissenters, are Unlawful. And What Humane Authority can warrant any One to put in Practice, an Unlawful, or Suspected Action ? Pa. 26.

C. If This be really Conscience ; You will be found as Cautious in venturing, deliberately, upon a Suspected Action, in all other Cases, as you are in This. But what if it shall appear, that This Fit of Tenderness only takes you, when you are to pay an Obedience to the Law ; and that you are as Bold as Lions, when you come to oppose it ? Will you not allow us to think it possible, that there may be somewhat more, in the Importunities, and Pretences of the Non-Conformists, then Matter of CONSCIENCE ?

'Tis a Suspected Action to Kneel at the Sacrament ; but None, to hold

hold up your *Hands* at the *Covenant*. You make a *Conscience* of disclaiming the *Obligation* of *That Covenant*, in Order to the *Security* of the *Government*: But None at all, of *Leagu*ing your selves in a *Conspiracy*, for the *Subversion* of it. Where was your *Tenderness*, in *Suspected Cases*, when, to Encourage *Rapine*, *Sacrilege*, and *Rebellion*, was the Common Business of your *Counsels*, and *Pulpits*? When it was safer to *Deny* the *Trinity*, then to *Refuse* the *Covenant*. When the same *Persons*, that started at a *Ceremony*, made no *Scruple* at all, of Engaging the Kingdom in *Blood*; and laying *Violent Hands* upon their *Sovereign*. Is not This, *Straining at a Gnat and swallowing a Camel*?

N. C. The Non-Conformists, I know, are charged with Principles, that detract from Kingly Power; and Tend to advance Popular Faction. *Disse. of Relig. Par. I.* It is True, They have been Eager Asserters of Legal Liberties. Pag. 40. But These are Things gone and Past, and Nothing to our Present purpose. The Wise Man says, He that repeateth a Matter, separateth very Friends. A looking back to former Discords, mars the most hopeful Redintegration. Acts of Indemnity, are Acts of Oblivion also, and must be so observed. Pa. 41. *Ibid.*

C. The Non-Conformists (The Sole Actors in the late War) were only Eager Assertors (it seems) of Legal Liberties. You do not deal so Gingerly with the Bishops, in the Point of Ceremonies, as to let them come off, with a Character of Eager Asserters of Legal Authorities. So that herein also, Your Consciences stumble at Straws, and leap over Blocks.

Now, Whereas You will have it, that a Reflection upon former Discords, is a Violation of the Act of Indemnity, and Impertinent to Our Purpose: My Answer is; First, That I do not revive the Memory of former Discords as a Reproach; But I make use of some Instances out of former Passages, to make Good my Assertion: That Your Conjoint Importunity for a Toleration, is not grounded upon Conscience. And to shew you that your Practises, and Professions gain One upon Another, for Conscience is all of a Piece? Not Tender, and Delicate on the One side, and Callous, and Unfeeling, on the Other.

Secondly, Suppose We should make a little Bold with the Act of Oblivion: I think We have as much right to do it, as You have to fall foul upon the Act of Uniformity. Unless you conceive, that the Mercy you have received by One Law, gives You a Priviledge of Invading all the rest. As to Authority, it is One and the same in Both; and if there were any place for Complaint against the Equity of a Legal

Legal Establishment, it would lie much Fairer against the Act of *Indemnity*, on the behalf of the *Royallists*, (that have ruined their Estates and Families in the Defence of the Law ; and yet after all, are thereby condemned to sit down in Silence and Despair) Then against the Act of *Uniformity*, on the Behalf of the *Non-Conformists* ; Who by the *One Law*, are secured in the Profits of their late *Disobedience* ; And by the *Other*, are taken into the Arms of the *Church*, according to the *Ancient*, and *Common Rule*, with the Rest of His Majesties *Protestant Subjects* : The Same Rule, I say ; saving where it is Moderated with *Abatements*, and *Allowances*, in Favour of *Pretended Scruples*.

Disc. of
Relig.
par. 1. N. C. *Whereas you make the Non-Conformists the Sole Actors in our late Confusions, You run your self upon a great Mistake : For—it hath been manifested to the World, by such as Undertook to Justifie it, when Authority should require, [That the Year before the King's Death, A Select Number of Jesuits being sent from their whole Party in England, Consulted both the Faculty of Sorbonne, and the Pope's Council at Rome, touching the Lawfulness and Expediency, of Promoting the Change of Government, by making away the King, Whom They Despaired to turn from his Heresie : It was Debated, and Concluded, in Both Places, That for the Advancement of the Catholick Cause, It was Lawful, and Expedient to Carry on that alteration of State. This Determination was effectually pursued by many Jesuits, that came over, and Acted their Parts in several Disguises. Pa. 15.*

Disc. of
Relig.
par. 1. C. If This be True, and Proveable ; (as You affirm it is) You cannot do the *Protestant Cause* a more important Service, then to make it out to the *Parliament* : Who (You know) have judg'd the Matter *Worthy of their Search*, and have appointed a *Committee to receive Informations*. Pa. 2. Nay, which is more, You are a *Betrayer of the Cause* if you do it not. *The WHOLE PARTY in England*, do you say ? *Prove out This, and you kill the whole Popish Party at a Blow.*

This was the Year before the *King's Death*, it seems : Was not that within the *Retrospect of the Act of Indemnity* ? If so, tell me I beseech you, Why may not *We* take the same *Freedom* with the *Non-Conformists*, that You do with the *Papists*.

N. C. *We shall never have done, if you lash out thus upon Digressions. Pray keep to the Question.*

C. As

C. As close as you please. What if a Man should shew You a Considerable Number, of the Eminent, and Active *Instruments in the late War*, to be now in the Head of the present Outcry for *Toleration*? (Take This into your Supposition too, that *These very Persons* promoted Our Troubles, *This very Way*; and Proceeded from the *Reformation of Discipline*, to the *Dissolution of Government*) Are We bound in Charity to take all their *Pretensions of Scruple* for *real Tenderness of Conscience*?

N.C. *Beyond all Question; Unless you can either Evidence their Error to be Unpardonable, or the Men Themselves, Impenitent.*

C. Why then let *Amesius* determine betwixt Us. [*Peccata illa, De Consciencia, lib. 3. cap. 15. quae publice fuerunt nota, debent etiam Confessione publica damnari; quia ad quos malum ipsum Exempli Contagione pervenerat, ad eos etiam Poenitentiae ac Emendationis Documentum, si fieri possit, debet transmitti.*] **PUBLIQUE SINS** require **PUBLIQUE CONFESSION**; To the End, that as many as were misled by the *Example*, may be set right again by the *Retraction*, and *Repentance*. This Conclusion pronounces all Those of the *old stamp*, that abused the People formerly, under Colour of *Conscience*; and are now at Work again, upon the *same Pretext*, without a *Publique Recantation*, to be in a State of *Impenitency*: and gives Us reasonably to presume, that if their *Consciences* can *Swallow*, and *Digest a Rebellion*, there is no great Danger of their being *Choak'd* with a *Ceremony*.

Another Thing is This; You do not plead for *Particular Judgments*; (In which Case, a plea of *Conscience* may be allow'd) But every Man urges the Equity (in Effect) of a *Toleration* for *all the Rest*. In which Number, You your selves do, severally, and joyntly, acknowledge, that there are a great many People of *Insociable* and *Intolerable Principles*; such as in *Conscience* are not to be admitted. And yet herein also, You profess to be guided by Impulses of *Tenderness*, and *Piety*; although in Opposition to the whole Course of your former *Declarations*, and *Proceedings*, that rise up in Judgment against You.

N.C. *If you grant, that there may be a Plea for Particulars, I shall not much trouble my self about Generals.*

That Point shall come on in due time. But let us look a little further yet, into the *General Cause*; for if it be not *Conscience*, it is *Confederacy*.

SECT.

The Conjunct Importunity of the Non-Conformists for a Toleration, is a manifest Confederacy.

C. **T**His appears, *First*, from the *Method* of their Proceedings; *Secondly*, from the *Natural Prospect*, and *Tendency* of that *Method*; *Thirdly*, from the *Nature*, and *Quality* of their *Demands* and *Arguments*; *Fourthly*; from the *Way*, and *Manner* of their *Addresses*, and *Applications*; *Lastly*; from their *Agreement* in Matters of *Dangerous Consequence* upon the *Peace* of the *Government*.

As to their *Method*; The *Non-Conformists* of *This Age* tread in the very steps of their *Predecessors*: and This you may observe throughout the whole History of Them; even from the first time that ever the Pretence of Popular Reformation set foot in his Majesties Dominions, unto This Instant. This is not a Place for a Deduction of Particulars at length; But a Touch from Point to Point, will not be much amiss. Wherefore, if you please, Give me a Brief Accompt of the *Non-Conformists*. First, *What kind of People they are*; Secondly, *What It is They would have*; Thirdly, *What will the Kingdom be the better for Granting their Desires*? Fourthly, *What are their Grievances*, as the Case stands with them at present? Fifthly, *What are they for Number, and Resolution*?

Disc. of
Relig.
par. 1.
Indulg.
& Toler.
p. 7.

N. C. They are a People Zealous of Religion, Pa. 43. An Intelligent, Sober sort of Men, and Numerous among all Ranks, P. 25. Peaceable, and Useful in the Commonwealth; Sound in the Faith; Men of Conscience; Evident Opposers of all Errors Pernicious to the Souls of Men and of an Evil Aspect upon the Publique Peace.

Spotswoods
Hist. of
Scotland,
p. 320, 322

C. Very Good: And were not the Conspirators that Seiz'd King James, at Ruthven, (1582.) as much as all This amounts to? If You will believe either *Themselves*, or the *Assembly* at *Edinburgh* in their behalf.

Petition to
the Queen.
p. 15.
Gilby.
King's

The Reforming *Non-Conformists* under Queen Elizabeth were Unreprovable before all Men; Her Majesties most Loyal Subjects, and God's Faithfull Servants: [Most Woriby, Faithful, and Painful Ministers; Modest, Watchful, Knowing in the Scriptures, and of Honest Conversation; (Learned, and Godly; says the Admonitioner, Pa. 25. And Martin Senior calls them, *The Strength of Our Land*, and the *Si- new* of her Majesties Government.

The

The Scotch Covenanters, in 1638. outdid All This, for Zeal to his Kings Majesties Person and Authority: The True Religion, Liberties, and Laws of the Kingdom. large Declar. p. 66.

And the Two Houses at Westminster, In 1642. come not behind Them, in their Professions, for the Defence, and Maintenance of the True Religion; The King's Person, Honour, and Estate, and the Just Rights, and Liberties of the Subject. Ex. Coll. p. 498.

Here's Your Character: Now to Your Demands, What is it you would have?

N.C. (a) A Reformation of Church-Government, Liturgy, and Ceremonies. (b) A bearing with weak Consciences: (c) and A Relaxation of the Prescribed Uniformity. (a) Two Papers of Proposals, p. 5. (b) Petition for peace, p. 20. (c) Disc. of Relig. Preface. Ex. Coll. 19.

C. And This you will find to have been the constant Pretence of the Non-Conformists, if you Consult their Story, from One End to the Other. [Not to let loose the Golden Reins of Discipline, and Government in the Church; But to Unburthen the Consciences of Men, of Needless, and Superstitious Ceremonies, Suppress Innovations, and Settle a Preaching Ministry, &c.] (c) Disc. of Relig. Preface. Ex. Coll. 19.

Put the Case now, that you had your Asking; What would the Kingdom be the better for it?

N.C. It will be the better for the King, Church, Nobility, and Gentry. [And there is no Nation under Heaven, wherein such an Indulgence, or Toleration as is desired, would be more Welcome, Useful, Acceptable; Or more Subservient to Tranquillity, Trade, Wealth, and Peace.] Disc. of Relig. Indulg. & Toler. p. 31.

C. Reformation no Enemy to Her Majesty and the State, is the very Title of a Desperate Libel, Printed 1590. against Both. And the Humble Motioner tells You, that it is for the Advantage of the Queen, Clergy, Nobility, and Commonalty; That the Wealth, and Honour of the Realm will be Encreased by it, &c.

This was the Stile too of Our Reformers, in 1642. The Securing of the Publique Peace, Safety and Happiness of the Realm; And the Laying the Foundation, of more Honour, and Happiness, to his Majesty, then ever was Enjoy'd by any of his Royal Predecessors.—Now speak your Grievances. Ex. Coll. p. 3. Ibid. 21.

N.C. We are Excommunicated, Outlawed, Imprison'd. Our Families Starved, and Begger'd. P. 8. Proceeded against with Outward Punishments,

nishments, Pecuniary, and Corporal, Nay Death it self, P. 9. [And all this while Trade languishes, Rents fall, Money scarce, P. 26. Never a greater Separation; Never a more General Dissatisfaction. P. 27.]

Spotswood Hist. Scotl. p. 327. Pray'e say: Was it ever better, since Non-Conformists came into the World? Was not King James a Favourer of the Enemies of God's Truth, and of Dissolute Persons? A Discountenancer of Godly Ministers? A Promise-Breaker to the Church; and a Perverter of the Laws; Inso-much that No man could be assured of his Lands, and Life?

Was it any better even under the Celebrated Government of Q. Elizabeth? (a) There were Citations, Degradings, and Deprivations. (b) Some in the Marshalsey; Some in the White-Lion; Some in the Gatehouse at Westminster; Others in the Counter, Or in the Clink, Or in Birdc-well, Or in Newgate. [How many Good Mens Deaths have the Bishops been the Cause of? How many have they driven to leave the Ministry, and live by Physick? Or to leave their Country? [Poor Men have been miserably handled, with Revilings, Deprivations, Imprisonments, Banishments: and Out of This Realm, they have all the best Reformed Churches through Christendom against them. [If This Persecution be not provided for, great Trouble will come of it.

Ex. Coll. p. 3 How your Party demean'd Themselves toward the Late King, of Blessed Memory, in the matter of Calumny, and Reproach, You may read at large in that Grand, and Infamous Libel; The Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, Decemb. 15. 1642.

But after all This; What are these People, for Number, and Resolution, that make such a Clutter?

Indulg. & Toler. N. C. Thousands of the Upright of the Land. [Petition for Peace, Pag. 21.] Multitudes do Dissent, and Resolve to Continue so doing; Whatever they suffer for it. Pa. 20. And to forego the Utmost of their Earthly Concernments, rather then to Live and Die in an Open Rebellion to the Commanding Light of God in their Consciences.—To Ruine Men in their Substantials of BODY, and LIFE, for Ceremonies; is a Severity, which ENGLISHMEN will not, long time, by any means, give Countenance unto, Pa. 23. [To Execute Extremity upon an Intelligent, Sober, and Peaceable Sort of Men, so Numerous among all Ranks, may prove Exceeding Difficult, unless it be Executed by such Instruments as may strike Terroure into the whole Nation. P. 25.]

Dist. of Rgl. par. 2.

C. Was not Queen Elizabeth told of Thousands, and Hundreds of Thousands, that sighed for the Holy Discipline? And that since neither Parliament, nor Convocation-house would take it into Consideration, They

They might blame Themselves, if it came in by such means, as would make all their Hearts Ake? The Truth will prevail (says the Demon-
strator) in spite of your Teeth, and all the Adversaries of it.

The most Unnatural, Causeless, and Horrible Rebellion, that This or (perhaps) any other Age in the World hath been acquainted with (To borrow the Words of his Late Majesty) was Prefaced with a Petition in the Name of all the Men, Women, Children, and Servants of Edinburgh, against the Service-Book: And Another, in the Name of the Noblemen, Gentry, Ministers, and Burgeses, against the Service-Book, and Book of Canons; Protesting afterwards, that if any Inconvenience should fall out, by reason of Pressing these Innovations, it was not to be Imputed to Them, that sought all Things to be Reformed by Order.

Large Declaration, p 53.

Ibid. p. 41.

Ibid p. 52.

This Commotion in Scotland, led the Way to Our succeeding Broils in England; Which were promoted by the like Artifices. Great Numbers of his Majesties Subjects, Opprest by Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings; and Many Thousands of Tradesmen, and Artificers, Empoverish'd by a Generality, and Multiplicity of Vexations. [Great Numbers of Learned, and Pious Ministers Suspended, Deprived, and Degraded. In fine, from Pamphlets, they advanced to Petitions; from Petitions, to Tumults; and from thence, into a Formal State of War.

Ex. Coll. p. 8.

Ibid. p. 9.

N. C. So that from This Agreement in Method, You will Pretend to Infer a Conformity of Design.

C. From This Agreement in Method; and from the Natural Tendency of this Method, I think a Man may honestly Conclude, it can be Nothing else: and I doubt not, but upon a Sober Examination of the Matter, I shall find You of the same Opinion.

The most Sacred of all Bonds is That of Government, next to That of Religion; and the Reverence which we owe to Humane Authority, is Only Inferior to That which we owe to God Himself. This being duly weighed, and that the Lesser Obligation must give place to the Greater. (As for Instance) Reason of State, to Matter of Religion, and Humane Laws to the Law Divine: What has any Man more to do, for the Embroyling of a Nation, but first to Puzzel the Peoples Heads with Doubts, and Scruples, about their Respective Duties to God, and Man; and then, to Possess them, that This, or That Political Constitution, has no Foundation in the Holy Scriptures? To bid Them stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made them Free, Galat. 5. 1. And Finally, to Engage the Name of God, and the Credit of Religion in the Quarrel?

N. C. *And do not you your self believe it better to Obey God, then Man?*

C. Yes; but I think it best of all to Obey Both: To Obey God, for Himself, in Spirituals; and Man, for God's sake, in Temporals, as he is God's Commissioner. But tell me; Are you not Convinced, that the most likely way in the World to stir up Subjects against their Prince, is To Proclaim the Iniquity of his Laws, and then to Preach Damnation upon Obedience?

N. C. *What if it be? Does it follow, because Religion maybe made a Cloak for a Rebellion, That therefore It is never to be Pleaded for a Reformation.*

Match. 23.
23, 24. C. Truly I have seldom known a Conscientious Reformation, accompanied with the Circumstances of Our Case. Here is, first, a Character of the Non-Conformists, drawn by their own Hand; and set off with such Flourishes of Purity, and Perfection, as if the Scribes and Pharisees Themselves had fit for their Picture. In the Second Place, You demand, partly, a Reformation; partly, a Toleration: And in the Third, You assure Us, that all England shall be the better for't. (Of These Two Points hereafter.) In the Fourth, You enlarge upon your Grievances; and instead of applying to the Government, on the behalf of the People, You are clearly upon the Strein of Appeal to the People from the Rigour of the Government. Your Text is Liberty of Conscience; But the Stress of your Discourse lies upon the Liberty of the Subject: The Decay of Trade, Scarcity of Money, Fall of Rents, The Substantials of BODY, and LIFE, Imprisonment &c. Upon the Whole; Your Writings want nothing but Form, of a Direct Indictment of King and Parliament for Persecution, and Tyranny; And would very well bear the Translation of their being led on by the Instigation of the Devil, not having the Fear of the Lord before their Eyes. If You can defend this manner of Proceeding, pray do it.

Disc. of
Relig.

N. C. *What can be of greater Concernment to Government, then to Discern and Consider the State of their People, as it is indeed? And Why may it not be Minded of Subjects, and spoken of, without any Hint, or Thought of Rebellion? Pag. 27.*

C. But What can be of greater Mischief to Governours, then under

der Colour of *Remonstrating* to Them the State of their People; at the Same time, to *disaffect* the People, by an Odious Account of the Errors, Misfortunes, and Calamities of the Government? Governours are not to be told their Faults in the Market-Place; Neither are Ministers of the Gospel, by your own Rules, to be admitted for Privy Counsellors. This is spoken as to the Good Office of your Information.

As to the Intention of it, I am not so bold, as to judge your Thoughts; But if You had any Drift at all in it, and Consider'd what You did, I do not see how You can acquit your self of Evil meaning. Suppose the Whole *Invective True*; and that you suffer for Righteousness, (to make the Fairest of it) What Effect do you expect these Discourses may have upon the People? and what upon the Magistrate? Will not every Man conclude, that the English are the Wretchedst Slaves upon the Face of the Earth? Neither Liberty of Religion, nor of Person, for any Man that makes a Conscience of his ways, The Whole Nation, Groaning under Beggery, and Bondage. Now see what Effects these Impressions may reasonably produce; and Those Effects are as reasonably to be taken for the Scope of your Intention.

Turn now to the Magistrate, and say; What Proportion do you find betwixt these Rude Disobligations upon the Government, and the Returns of Grace, and Favour You desire so Earnestly from it? On the Other side; if your Report be False, Your Design appears still to be the same; Only with the Aggravations, of more Animosity, and Malice in Pursuance of it. But True, or False, it is Nothing at all to the Business of Toleration, but a Palpable Transition from matter of Conscience, to matter of State.

This is the Course, in General, of Our Advocates for Toleration; and by the Desperate Sallies, they make, from Religion, to Government, in their Pamphlets, a Man may guess what it is they would be at in their Bulpits.

N.C. Oppression makes a Wise man mad; and 'tis not Generous to Descant upon every thing, that is bolted in Heat, and Passion, as if it were a formed Discourse, upon Deliberation, and Counsel.

C. But it is a strange thing (my Good Friend) for so many Men to be Mad at a Time; and to be Mad the same Way too? If you will have it, that they mean just Nothing at all, I am content; But if they mean any thing, and all agree in the same Meaning; It can be nothing else but a Confederacy.

The next Point makes it more Evident; that is to say, The
Marshalling

Marshalling of their *Numbers*, and their *Thousands*; The Boast of their *Interest*; in all Parties, and of the *Difficulty* to *Suppress* them: The *Proclamation* of their *Resolution* to Live and Die in the defence of their *Opinions*, with an *Innuendo*, of the *Magistrates* Meddling with them at their *Peril*. What can be the End of this *Rhodomontade*; but to startle the *Government*, on the One Side, and to animate the *Multitude*, on the Other? It is no Argument at all for an *Indulgence*, that they are *Many*, *Powerful*, and *Resolute*; But point blank against it: Unless they can approve themselves to be *Regular*, *Governable*, and *Honest*. To Sum up all; Here are *Faults* found in the *Government*; and the *People* Tamper'd into a *Dislike* of it; So that here's a *Disposition* to a Change, wrought already.

No sooner is the *Multitude* perswaded of the *Necessity* of a *Reformation*; but behold the *Manner* of it; it must be either by a *Thorough-Alteration*, a *Comprehension*, a *Toleration*, or a *Connivance*. And for the Principal Undertakers, You may put your Lives in their Hands; for (if they do not slander Themselves) They are as *Godly*, an *Intelligent Sort of People*, as a Man shall see in a Summers Day. Now, for the *Introducing* of This *Reformation*, there is no way, but to set up the Word of God, against the *Law of the Land*: By the *Un-Bishop-*
 Acts 5. 38. *ping of Timothy, and Titus*; and giving the *People* a Sight of the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, and *Gamaliel's Dilemma*, through a Pair of *Reforming Spectacles*; By which they discover the *Divine Right* of *Presbytery*, with One Eye; and *That* of *Universal Toleration* with the Other; and so become One in the *Common Cause* of Maintaining *Gospel Worship*, against *Humane Inventions*.

The next Care is, to Gratifie the *Common People*; for there's nothing to be done, till they come; and there is no Reason in the World, that the poor Wretches should venture Soul, Life, and Estate, *Gratis*! This is Effected, by the Doctrine of *Liberty of Conscience*. For Grant but every Man a *Right*, of *Acting*, according to the *Dictate* of his *Conscience*, and he has Consequently a *Liberty* of *Doing* Whatsoever he shall pretend to be according to *That Dictate*; And of *Refusing* to do, whatsoever he shall say is against it: By which Invention, the *Laws of the Kingdom* are subjected to the *Pretended Consciences of the People*; and the *Multitude* are made *Judges* of the *Controversie*.

Now comes in the *Joynt-Struggle* of the *Non-Conformists* for a *Toleration*. This, if it may be obtain'd, puts them in a Capacity of doing the *Rest, Themselves*. But in Case of *Opposition*, Their last Resort is to a *Mustering of their Forces*; A *Computation* of their *Strength*, and

and *Interests*; Which is the Very same Thing, as if they should say, in so many Syllables; *Gentlemen*; You see the *Parliament* does not *Re-gard Us*: We have a *Good Cause*, and *Hands* enow to do the *Work*, in *spight* of their *Hearts*: *UP AND BE DOING*. After This; There wants Nothiug, but the *Word*, *The Sword* of the *Lord*, and of *Gide-on*, To Crown the *Euterprize*. If *This* be not a *Conspiracy* tell me *What Is*.

N.C. You say, *It is*, and *We deny it*.

C. There are strong *Presumptions* also of a *Confederacy*, to be gathered from the *Nature*, and *Quality* of your *Demands*. You desire a *Comprehension*, a *Toleration*; But then you place the *Conditions* of it, out of the *Reach* of *Ordinary Proof*, and indeed, of *Hum n: Cogni-zance*, (as is shew'd already) So that *Nó Body* knows, who are to be *Comprehended*, and who *left out*. This looks, as if your *Business* were rather to *enflame* the *Difference*, then to *compose* it. And then, when you are prest to *Name*, and *Specify* the *Parties* you plead for; (since by your own *Confession*, several are to be *Excluded*) You fly still to the *Generalities*, of *Important Interests*, and *Congruous Prin-ciples*, and so leave the *Matter* utterly. uncabable of any *Clear*, and *Logical Result*; Unless you will allow *Governours* the *Inspection* of their *Subjects Hearts*: Or *Teach* us how to *Reduce wild*, and *Un-certain Notions*, under the *Prospect* of a *Steady Law*. But the *Reason* of your *Dealing* thus in the dark, I suppose may be *This*: Your *Design* is to be carry'd on under the *Countenance* of the *Common Cause*, wherein, all those *Persons* are *United* against the *Government*, that would otherwise spend their *Animosities*, *One upon Another*, and break into a thousand *Pieces* among *Themselves*. Now for you to declare for any *One Party*, were *Virtually*, to *declare against* all the *Rest*, and *Dissolve* the *Combination*.

Touching the *Manner* of their *Addresses*, I shall only add, (to what is past) that they are *Invectives*, against those that cannot re-lieve them, without any *Formal Application* to those that *can*: And tend *Naturally* to the *Tumultuating* of the *People*, without any *Co-lour* of *Contribution* to their *Benefit*.

Of their *Agreement* in *Matters* of *Dangerous Consequence*, enough is spoken already, to put it past all contradiction, That *Their Con-junct Importunity* for a *Toleration*, is a *Manifest CONFEDERACY*. Wherefore let us now proceed from the *Drift*, and *Design* of their *Pretentions*, to the *Morality*, and *Reason* of *Them*.

SECT.

The Non-Conformists Joynt Pretences FOR A Toleration overthrown, by the Evidence of their Joynt-Arguments, Professions, and Practises Against it.

EIK. BAS.
p. 207.

C. **D**O as you would be done by, is the Precept, both of Gospel, and Nature. With what face then, can you ask a Toleration from That Government, which of all Others, your selves refused to Tolerate? From That Prince, to whose Blessed Father (in the Depth of his Agonies) you cruelly deny'd the Use, and Service of his own Chaplains? [A greater Rigour, and Barbarity, then is ever used by Christians to the Meanest Prisoners, and Greatest Malefactors. But They that Envy my being a King are loth I should be a Christian? While they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my Soul.] These are the Words of that Pious Prince in his last Extremity.

N.C. That Rigour was the Barbarism of a Faction, Not the Principles of the Party.

London
Ministers
Letter to
the Assem-
bly, Jan. 1
1645.
Harmony
of the Lan-
cashire Mi-
nisters, p.
12.

Mr. Fair-
cloth on
Josh. 7. 25.
Ruther-
fords Free
Disp. p.
360.

Bayly's
Diffusive
Bpist. Ded.
1645.
Siouhouse
to the As-
sembly,
1645.

C. Hear your Party speak then. [It is much, that our Brethren should separate from the Church; but that they should endeavour to get a Warrant, to Authorize their Separation from it, and to have Liberty (by Members out of it) to weaken, and diminish it, till, (so far as lies in them) they have brought it to Nothing; This we think to be plainly Unlawful.

Toleration would be the Putting the Sword in a Madman's hand; A Proclaiming Liberty to the Wolves, to come into Christ's Flock to Prey upon his Lambs.

Extirpate all Achans, with Babilonish Garments, Orders, Ceremonies, Gestures; Let them be rooted out from among Us. You of the Honourable House, Up; for the Matter belongs to You. We even All the Godly Ministers of the Country will be with you.

Toleration makes the Scripture a Nose of Wax: A Rule of Faith to all Religions.

Liberty of Conscience, and Toleration of all, or any Religion, is so Prodigious an Impiety, that this Religious Parliament cannot but abhor the very Naming of it.

Such a Toleration is utterly repugnant to, and Inconsistent with the Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation.

Toleration Discuss'd.

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It is unreasonable (says the Defender of the London Ministers Letter to the Assembly) that Independents should desire That Toleration of Presbyters, which they would not give to Presbyters. For With what face can I desire a Courtesie from Him, to whom I do openly profess, I would deny the same Courtesie? Does not this hold as well for Us, as it did for You?

Anti-To-
leration,
p. 16.

N.C. *You must not Impose the Indgments of Particular Persons upon Us, as Instances of Publique Authority.*

C. *What do ye think then of your National Covenant? Was That an Act of Authority? Wherein you bind Your selves by an Oath, to settle an Uniform Presbytery to the Exclusion of all other Forms of Church-Order, or Government whatsoever; (under the Notion of Schism) and of Prelacy by Name? Are your Consciences FOR Toleration Now, that were so much Against it Then? Nay, there are many among you, that reckon your selves under an Obligation, to pursue the Ends of that Covenant, even to this very Day: And do you think it Reasonable, for a Government to grant Priviledges, and Advantages of Power, and Credit, to a Party, that owns it self under an Oath of Confederacy to endeavour the Extirpation of it?*

N.C. *You mean I suppose of Church-Government.*

C. *I mean of Both Church, and State. Was it not the Test of the King's Enemies, as well as of the Bishops? Was it not made Death without Mercy, for any Man, having taken the Solemn League and Covenant, to adhere to his Majesty? The League and Covenant (says The Kirks testimony against toleration p. 10. Rutherford) was the first Foundation of the Ruine of the Malignant Party in England. And whoever refuses to Disclaim it, must be rationally understood, still to Drive on the Intent of it. So that to Tolerate the Non-Conformists, is to Tolerate the Sworn Adversaries, both of Royal, and Episcopal Authority: Nay, to Tolerate Those that have Sworn to persist in that Opposition, all the Days of their Lives; Over and above the Tolerating of those upon Pretence of Conscience FOR a Toleration, that deny to Tolerate all other People, upon as strong a Pretence of Conscience AGAINST it.*

Where was This Spirit of Moderation toward the weak Brethren in the Total Suppression of the Book of Common-Prayer; and the Imposing of the Directory, to be Observed in all the Churches within This Kingdom? [No Ruling Elders, but such as have taken the National Covenant.

Acts and
Ordinan-
ces, par. 1.
p. 97.
Ibid 165.

Ibid. 971. **Covenant.** No *Electors* of *Elders* neither, (by the Ordinance of *March 14. 1645.*) but such as have taken the *National Covenant*. [No *Ordination*, without a *Testimonial* of having taken the *Covenant* of the *Three Kingdoms*. None to be *Admitted*, or *Entered* in the *Universities*, without taking the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and the *Negative Oath*; and Upon *Conditions* of *Submission*, and *Conformity* to the *Discipline*, and *Directory*.

P. 30, 31. Nay further: You will find in the *Four Bills*, and *Propositions* sent to his Majesty in the *Isle of Wight*, (*March 1647.*) when the *Two Parties*, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent* were upon so hard a Tugg; That the *Presbyterian Government*, and *Directory* seem'd to be resolv'd upon in one *Line*, and unsettled again, in the very next. By a *Provision*: That no *Persons* whatsoever should be liable to any *Question*, or *Penalty*, for *Non-Conformity* to the *Form of Government*, and *Divine Service* appointed in the *Ordinances* (then in *Force*;) but be at *Liberty* to *Meet* for the worship of *God*; so as nothing might be done to the disturbance of the *Peace of the Kingdom*. Yet in This *Crisis* of *Affairs*; they could clap in another stabbing *Proviso* against *Us*, upon the neck of That; i.e. that this *Indulgence* shall not extend to *Tolerate* the *Use* of the *Book of Common-Prayer*, in any *Place* whatsoever. And at this rate, you treated the *Episcopal Party*, throughout the whole *Course* of your *Power*.

N. C. And good cause for it; were not they the most likely of all others to disappoint our Settlement?

C. Agreed. But as to the matter of *Conscience*; Did you well, or ill in't; Or rather, was there any thing of *Conscience* in the Case?

N. C. Certainly it was very fit for the *Civil Power* to look to it self: And the *Power Ecclesiastical* was no less concern'd to exact a *Conformity* to the *Laws*, and *Ordinances* of *Christ*.

C. How can you say This, and consider what you say, without blushing? If you did well, in *Refusing* to *Tolerate* the *Episcopal way*, because you thought it not *Right*; the Reason is as strong for *Our way*, that have the same *Opinion* of *Yours*. If you did well on the *Other side*, out of a *Political Regard* to the *Publique Peace*, so do we now, upon *That very score*. So that you must either confess, that *You did ill*, *Then*, in *Refusing* a *Toleration* to *Us*; or otherwise allow, that *Authority* does well, *Now*, in not permitting it to *You*.

N. C. There might be some Plea for a little Strictness more then ordinary

Toleration Discuss'd.

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nary, in the Heat of an Eager, and Publique Contention: But methinks a Persecution in Cold Blood, does not savour of the Spirit of our Profession.

SECT. XV.

The Non-Conformists Joynt-Complaints of Hard Measure, and Persecution, confronted with their own Joynt-Proceedings.

C. **W**Hat is it that you call *Hard Measure, and Persecution*?

N.C. Your Unmercifull Impositions, upon Tender Consciences, by Subscriptions, Declarations, &c. There are few Nations under the Heavens of God (as far as I can learn) that have more *Able, Holy, Faithfull, Laborious, and Truly Peaceable* Preachers of the Gospel, (Proportionably) then Those that are now cast out in England, and are like in England, Scotland, and Ireland to be cast out, if the Old Conformity be still urged. [Ours is not a wicked, Prophane, Drunken Ministry.]

Petition
for peace.
P. 4 1661.

M. Calamy
of the Ark
p. 21.

C. That is, by Interpretation: *God we thank Thee, that we are not as other Men are.—Nor even as these Publicans.* But to the Matter.

These People that you speak of, are set aside for not Obeying the Law: But What do you think of those, that were turn'd out of their Livings, because they would not Oppose it? And they were dispossess'd too, by some of the present Complainants themselves: Who first came in at the window, and now are turn'd out at the Door. No less then a Hundred and fifteen were Ejected here in London, within the Bills of Mortality (besides Paul's and Westminster) And the rest of the Kingdom throughout, was purged after that Proportion. Nor was it thought enough to Sequester, unless they starv'd them too; for they were not allow'd to take the Employment, either of School-Masters, or Chaplains, but under heavy Penalties. In South-Wales, the Gospel was as well Persecut'd, as the Ministry: the Churches shut up, and the People let loose to the Lusts and Corruptions of Unbridled Nature. The Only Pretence of Justification that the Reformers had, was that Unchristian, and unmanly Libel, WHITE'S GENTURIES of Scandalous Ministers; wherein, without any Respect, either to Truth, or Modesty, They have Exposed so many Reverend Names, to Infamy, and Dishonour, for the better Colour of their own Sacrilegious Usurpations. But take This along with you, that

Loyalty in those Days past for a Punishable, and Notorious Scandal.

N. C. *These were Acts of Policy, and let Statesmen answer for them. But to have Men cast out of the Church, because they will not Subscribe, and Declare, contrary to their Consciences, is doubtless a most Unconscionable Severity.*

And What is it in the *Subscription* (I beseech you) that you stumble at ? As to the Acknowledgment of *his Majesties Supremacy*, I suppose, you would not be thought to stick at That. And in Matters of *Doctrine*, you make Profession to joyn with us : So that about the *Lawfulness of using the Book of Common-Prayer, and your own Submission to the Use of it*, is the Only Question. Your Exceptions likewise to the *Declarations* seem to be very weakly grounded, unless you make a Scruple of Declaring your selves for the *Uniformity of the Church*, Or for the *Peace of the Civil Government* : In which Cases you cannot fairly pretend to be trusted in *Either*. But not to Extravagate. You are against the *Imposing of Subscriptions, and Declarations*, you say.

N. C. *I am against the very Imposition it self, upon any Terms : But when they are prest upon Grievous Penalties, they are utterly Intolerable.*

C. And yet when the *Common-Prayer* was abolish'd, there was a *PENALTY*, of *Five Pound*, for the first Offence ; *Ten* for the *Second* ; And a *Years Imprisonment*, without Bail or Mainprize, for the *Third Offence*, upon any man that should use it. So that Here was an Interdiction of *Our way of worship* upon a *PENALTY* ; and no notice taken of Invading the *Liberty of Our Consciences*. By the same Ordinance, of *August 23. 1645.* was also commanded the Exercise and Order of the *Directory* ; and That upon a *FORFEITURE* too : with a *PENALTY*, from *Five Pound to Fifty*, upon any Man, that should Preach, Write, or Print any thing to the Derogation of it. Now Here was *Rigor*, you see, on *Both Sides* : But no *Clamour*, upon the Matter of *Conscience in this case* neither.

How many of Our Ministers were Poyson'd in *Peter-House*, And *Other Prisons*, either for *worshipping according to their Consciences*, or *refusing to Act against Them* ! No Man was admitted to his Composition without *SWEARING* ; No Man to live in the *Parliaments Quarters* without *SWEARING*.

Neither were We only debarr'd the *Common Rights of Subjects*,
and

and the *Benefits of Society*: But the *Comforts of Religion* were denied Us; And an *Anathema* pronounced upon Us for Our *Fidelity*. The *General Assembly* in *Scotland* Ordain'd, that known *Compliers with the Rebels*, and such as *Procured Protections from the Enemy*; or kept *Correspondence*, or *Intelligence with Him* should be *Suspended from the Lord's Supper*, till they manifested their *Repentance before the Congregation*. [*Gillespy's Useful Cases of Conscience*, Pag. 19. 20.] His late Majesty, in his *Large Declaration of the Affairs of Scotl.* p. 199. tells you, That *Men were beaten, turn'd out of their Livings, Reviled, Excommunicated, Process'd, for NOT SUBSCRIBING the Covenant*. And again, Pa. 202. That there was an *Oath given at a Communion at Fife*, not to take the *King's Covenant*, nor any other, but their own. Now, hear the *Commissioners of the General Assembly*, July 25. 1648. His Majesties *Concessions*, and *Officers from the Isle of Wight*, are to be by the *Parliament* declared *Unsatisfactory*; unless his Majesty give assurance by *SOLEMN Oath, under his Hand, and Seal*, for *Settling Religion according to the Covenant*; before his *Restitution to his Royal Power*.

But that I am loth to overcharge you, I could give you the *History of the Spiriting* several Persons of Honour for *Slaves*; the *Sale of three or fourscore Gentlemen to the Barbadoes*; beside *Plunders, Decimations*, and infinit other *Outrages*, both *Publique*, and *Private*. Give me leave to mind you now a little, of some few of Your *General Provisions for the Destruction of the King's Party*, and the *Extirpation of that Family, and Government* to which *Providence* has once again *Subjected* you.

(a) *An Ordinance for Sequestration of Delinquents Estates.* (b) *De-* (a) *Scot-*
linquents Disabled to bear any Office, or have any Vote in Election of any *Acts*,
Mayor, &c. Here's *Estate*, and *Legal Freedom* gone already: Now par. 1.
follows *Banishment* from One Place, and *Confinement* to Another. (c) p. 37.
Delinquents must be removed from London and Westminster, and Con- (b) p. 135.
fin'd within five Miles of their own Dwelling. (c) Par. 2.
Charles Stuart, or his Party, prohibited, under *Pain of High Treason*; (d) p. 17.
and (e) *Death to any man, that shall attempt the revival of his claim, or* (c) p. 37.
that shall be aiding or assisting, comforting or abetting, unto any person en-
deavouring to set up the title of any of the Issue of the Late King.

Where were the *Able, Holy, Faithful, Laborious, and Truly Peace-*
able Preachers of the Gospel, with the *tender Consciences* you talk of, when
these things were a doing; Truly neither better nor worse, then
up to the very Ears, a great many of them, in the main Action.

Some

Toleration Discuss'd.

Some Preaching up the *Conscience* of the War ; Others wheedling the City out of their *Money* to maintain it ; and calling for more *Blood* in *Prosecution* of it. Till in the conclusion, the *King*, and the *Government*, fell in the *Quarrel* : And the *Pulpits* all this while at hand, to *Patronize* the *Reformation*.

N.C. *This Ripping up of Old stories, does but widen the Breach, without doing any Good at all.*

C. If you would not *hear* of these things again, you should not *do* them again.

N.C. *Then it seems the whole must suffer for some Particulars.*

C. No not so. But neither must the *Whole* go *Scot-free* for some *Particulars*. Would you have me open my door to a troop of Thieves because there are four or five honest men in the company ? That there are divers *Conscientious*, and well-minded men among the *Non-Conformists*, I make no Question ; But I am yet positive in this, that the *Non-Conformists*, in *Conjunction*, are in a direct *Conspiracy* ; and when they come once to agree in a *Publique complaint*, It is no longer *Conscience*, but *Faction* ; this by the By.—Now to the matter before us ; I have given you a Breviate of *your own Proceedings*, in the very *Case* of your present *complaints*. Lay your hand upon your heart, and bethink your self, who are the *Persecutors*.

N.C. *Let the Persecution rest where it will ; I am fully perswaded, that there is no Setting of this Kingdom in a State of Security, Peace, and Plenty, without an Indulgence, or Toleration.*

S E C T. XVI.

The Non-Conformists tell us, that Liberty of Conscience is the Common Interest of This Kingdom ; but Reason and Experience tell us the Contrary.

C. **T**Hat we may not spend our selves in *Repetition*, *Cavil*, or *Confusion*, take notice, that 'tis the *General Cause* of the *Non-Conformists*, which is coming under debate. For *that Toleration* which the *whole Party* desires, must needs be a *Toleration* of the *whole Party* :

Party : And that I Oppose ; in confidence, that I have *Reason*, and *Experience* on my side. We have spoken already, as to the *Unlawfulness* ; and somewhat likewise, to the *dangerous Consequences* of it : Together with the *unruly Opinions*, and *Practices* of several of the Pretenders to it. We are now to look a little further into it, with a more Immediate regard to the *Common Interest* of the Kingdom, which we may place in the Concernments of *Religion*, *Government*, *Peace*, and *Plenty*.

To begin with *Religion* : I do not understand, how that which delights in *Unity*, shall be advantaged by *Division*, and *Fraction*.

N.C. As if there could be no *Unity of Doctrine*, without *Uniformity of Discipline*. The Precept is ; One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism : And not One way, One Form of worship.

C. I might tell you, that it is of *Ancient*, and *unreprovable Practice*, for every *National Church* to appoint its own *Plat-form of Service*, and *Ceremonies* ; And to require *Obedience*, and *Conformity* to that *Model*, and to *Those Rights* respectively, from all its Members. But this I shall not insist upon. There is no *Precept* (you say) for any *One Way*, or *Form*. But can you shew me, that an *Uniformity of Service*, and *Rituals* is any where forbidden ?

N.C. Not in *Particular* : But in the *General Prohibition* of all *un-* Disc. of
commanded Worship, Pag. 26. Relig.
par. 1.

C. The matter in short is this. Either we have a *Rule* in the *Gospel* for the *manner* of Our *worship* ; Or we have *none*. If there be no *way of Commanded Worship*, left us, by *Christ*, and his *Apostles* ; And all *uncommanded worship* be (as you say) *forbidden*, there must be no *appointed Worship at all* ; and then, every man is at *Liberty*, not only to *worship* after what *manner* he pleases, but (effectually) to chuse, whether he'll *worship* or no : Which brings in all sorts of *Heresies*, and *Blasphemies* ; and countenances even *Athiesm* itself. Now, on the other hand ; If there be any *Particular manner of worship Prescribed* in the *Word of God* ; from that *particular manner*, we must not presume to vary, by a *Toleration* of any other way then that : or of more, then *One*. Besides, that it undermines the *Foundation* of all *Communities*, to deny the *Civil Authority* a *Right of Interposing* in such cases, as are neither *Commanded*, nor *forbidden*, by *God*.

Let us next consider the *Probable Effects* of a *Toleration*, in respect of the *Parties* pretending to it. Which are, either *Presbyterians* ;

Or

Or (in a sense of contradistinction) *Independent*. The *former* are for a *Subordination* in Churches: the *Other* for an *Independency*: (according to their *Denomination*) *these* are for *gather'd Congregations*; the *Other*, for *Parochial*.

I will not trouble you with the Argumentative part of the differences betwixt them; about the *Subordination*, or *Coordination* of Churches; The *Redundance*, or *Defect* of Church-Officers; The *Receptacle* of the *Power of the Keys*, and the like: But nakedly, and briefly, shew you the *kindness* they have for *One another*; The regards they have for *Christian Charity*, in the menage of the Quarrel; and then leave you your self to Judge, what may be the *Event* of such a *Toleration*, as to Religion.

The *Sectaries* (says *Edwards* in his *Gangrana*) agree with *Julian the Apostate*, P. 54.] They are *Libertines*, and *Athiests*, P. 185.] *unclean*, *Incestuous*, P. 187.] *Drunkards*, P. 190.] *Sabbath-Breakers*, *Deceivers*, P. 191.] Guilty of *Gross Lying*, *Slandering*, *Juggling*, *Falsifying their Words and Promises*: *Excessive Pride*, and *Boasting*, P. 192.] *Insufferable Insolence*, *Horrible Affronts to Authority*, p. 194.] There never was a more *Hypocritical*, *False*, *Dissembling*, *Cunning* Generation in *England*, then many of the *Grande'es* of those *Sectaries*. — They Encourage, Protect, and Cry up for *Saints*, *Sons of Belial*, and the *Vilest* of *Men*, P. 240.] *Gangrana's Second Part*, 1646. — See Now the *Other Party* do as much for the *Peesbyterians*.

The *Presbyterian Government* is *Anti-Christian*, *Tyrannical*, *Lordly*, *Cruel*, a worse *Bondage* then under the *Prelates*; A *bondage* under *Task-Masters*, as the *Isralites* in *Agypt*: A *Presumptuous*, *Irregular Consistory*, which hath no Ground in the Word of God, *Barrow*, P. 79.] A *Vexatious*, *Briery*, *Thorny*, *Persecuting Presbytery*. [*Pulpit Incendiary*, P. 26.] *Formidable to States*, and *Free Kingdoms*. [*Mr. Nye*.] The *Assembly* is *Antichristian*, *Romish*, *Bloody*, the *Plagues*, and *Pests* of the Kingdom; *Baal's Priests*. [*Gangrana's Second Part*, 230.] The *Seed of God* in this Nation has had two *Capital Enemies*, The *Romish Papacy*, and the *Scotch Presbytery*. [*Sterry's England's Deliverance*, P. 7.] An *Anabaptist* said, that He hoped to see *Heaven and Earth on fire*, before *Presbytery* should be settled; [*Edwards* his *Gangrana*.] *Barrow* calls the *Consistorians*, *Dangerous*, and *Pestilent Seducers*; *Ravelling Wolves*, which come to Us in *Sheeps Cloathing*.]

This is enough to shew you the *Mutual*, and *Implacable Enmity*, and *Opposition* of the *Two Grand Parties*, which, you are now perswad-
ing

ing your self, might be gratified, by a *Common Indulgence*. Let me further Mind you, that the *Strife* ended not there Neither, but proceeded to *Blood*: And that, so soon, as they had master'd the *Government*, in a *Combination*, under the *Masque of Reformation*, and *Conscience*; They parted *Interests*, and upon the very same *Pretext*, Engaged in a *Second War*; and fell foul, *One* upon the *Other*. Wherein they sufficiently Manifested to the World, that they fought, not for *Forms*, and *Ceremonies*? but for *Booty*, and *Dominion*. No less to the *Scandal of the Religion of England*, then to the *Ruine of the Monarchy*.

N. C. You are not to stop my Mouth with Instances of Tumults, and Factions, in a Peaceable Plea for Religion, and Conscience.

C. Do not you know that *Toleration* is as good, as an *Issue* in a Government? All the *Vicious Humours* in the whole Body flow that way. But Suppose it *Conscience*? Are the *Dissenters* ever to be *Reconciled*? Shall we not have *New*, and *Monstrous Opinions* Propagated daily? And will it not be every Man's Business, to Advance the Credit, and Authority of his own Party? Where is the *Bond of Peace*, in this Exercise, and Latitude of *Dissention*? The *unity of the Church*, in this *Multiplicity of Professions*? Which is the *True Religion*, among so many divided, and contradictory *Pretenses* to it? Or rather; Is there any Religion at all, where there is neither *Christian Charity*, *Stability of Principles*, *Reverence*, or agreement, in *God's Worship*.

N. C. I hope you will not deny the Protestant Interest to be the Interest of the True Religion: and undoubtedly, the bringing of the Protestants into an Union among Themselves, is the Advantage of every Protestant State,] and of Protestantism it self.

C. Past all Dispute; and an *Uniformity of Worship* brings them into that Union; Which is never to be attained, while the World endures, by a *Liberty of Conscience*. How was the *Protestant Interest* (I beseech you) united in the late *Dissolution of Government*; When Every Man did that which was Right in his own Eyes? Examine the Story well, and you will find Reason to believe, that the *Church of Rome* has gain'd more upon Us, since That *unsettlement of Ecclesiastical Order*, then perchance from the first hour of the *Reformation*, even unto That very Day. For *Liberty of Conscience*, did no less bring a *Civil War* upon the *Protestant Religion*, then the pretended *Liberty of the Subject* did upon the *State*. It turned every Man's hand against

his Brother. Every Man had a Religion to Himself, and every Man's Conscience (as I told you) was his Bible ; and we are still to presume, that like Causes will produce like Effects.

It is also remarkable, that the *lowdest*, and *boldest* Declamers against the *Orders* of the Church, proved likewise, the most *Pragmatical*, and *Audacious* Invaders of the *Civil Peace* ; The *Antecedent Schism* serving only for a *Prologue* to the *Ensuing Sedition*.

Disc. of
Rel. par.
1. p. 40.

N. C. *This Arraignment of their supposed Principles, about Government, may haply proceed upon Mistake. There is Reason to think, that the many late Disputes, about Prerogative, and Liberty are Controversiæ ortæ, non primæ ; that they had their Rise from something else, which lies at the Bottom.*

C. This is but *Peradventure I, Peradventure No*. For if a Man may haply be in a *Mistake*, he may haply too be in the *Right*. I will grant ye likewise, that the Disputes about *Prerogative*, and *Liberty*, had their *Rise* from *somewhat else*, which lay at the *Bottom*. That is to say ; It was not *Purity of Religion*, *Reformation of the Liturgy*, *Retrenching the Exorbitant Power of Bishops*, or *Scruple of Conscience*, (as they pretended) that wrought the *Subversion of Church, and State* ; but it was the *Design*, which lay at the *Bottom*, of *Carrying on the Great Work of Overturning the Government*, under Countenance of that *Plausible Imposture, and Disguise*.

Disc. of
Relig.
par. 3. p. 41

N. C. *Inclinations and Interests, more then Speculative Opinions, will be found to have born the Sway, and Caused those Active Motions, on the One Hand, and the Other. These Dogmata, or Problems about Obedience, and Government, do but little, where Mens Affections, and Concernments do not give them Spirit, and Vigor.*

C. It is most Certain, that *Problems* draw no *Blood* ; and we do not read that ever any Man's *Throat* was cut, with a *Speculation*, or a *Syllogism* ; But yet, *Inclinations*, and *Interests* (you allow) may do much, towards *Mischief* : So that, I have what I desire, if I am but able to make it out, that *Liberty of Conscience*, will most indubitably, *beget strong Inclinations in the People, to shake off the Yoke of Government* ; and that they will not want specious *Appearances of Interest* soto Do.

First ; The *Servants of Jesus Christ* (as the *Non-Conformists* peculiarly

liarly stile themselves) have this Advantage of the *Subjects of Temporal Princes*; thar they serve the *Better Master*: and the *Dignity of their Spiritual Profession* supersedes the *Duty of their Political Allegiance*. (So often, as they shall think Good, to stand upon That Privilege) By Vertue of which *Prerogative*, they do not only Claim an *Exemption* from the *Obligation*, and *Reach of Humane Laws*; But a *Commission* also, and *Authority*, to *Reform those Laws*, (in Case of *Error*, and *Corruption*) according to the *Standard of the Gospel*. Now to this *Principle*, and *Doctrin*e, do but add *Liberty of Conscience*; and the *People* have *Law*, and *Magistracy* at their *Mercy* already. For *First*; they reckon themselves no further *answerable* either to the *One*, or to the *Other*, then they find them *Warranted* in, and *Grounded* upon the *Word of God*. And *Secondly*; they may chuse whether or no, they will find any *Law*, or *Magistrate*, whatsoever, to be so *Warranted* or *Grounded*; And consequently, whether there shall be any *Government*, or *No. One Ma'n's Conscience* cannot allow *This*, or *That Injunction* to be according to *God's Word*: It may be *Lawful* to *Another*, but it is not so to *Him*; and *He* calls for *Indulgence*, and *Moderation*. *Another Man's Conscience* swears by the most High God, that it is point blank against it; and nothing will serve *Him*, but utter *Extirpation*. And whatsoever they call *Conscience*, must pass for *Current*. Every Man is to govern himself by his own *Opinion*, not by *Another bodies*. It is no longer *Liberty of Conscience*, if a Man shall be run down, and concluded by *Prescription*, *Authority*, *Consent of Fathers*, *Scripture*, *Reason*, and the like, without being *Convinc'd*.

N. C. I thought you would have shew'd me in what manner, or by what means *Liberty of Conscience* comes to turn the *Hearts*, and *Interests of Subjects* against their *Superiours*, as you said you would.

C. A little *Patience*, and I'll be as good as my *Word*. It has brought us to this pass, already, you see, that it has cast the *Government* upon the good *Nature of the Multitude*, and made it purely dependent upon the *Breath of the People*, whether it shall *Stand*, or *Fall*. So that (in short) the matter in *Question*, falls under these *Two Considerations*. *First*, Whether a *People*, left to *Themselves*, either to be under the *Restreint of Laws* or *not*, will not rather agree to cast off a *Government*, then to defend it. *Secondly*; Whether they will not, likewise, find a very fair appearance of *Interest*, and *Advantage*, in so doing. The *Former*, I think, will easily be *Granted*, by any Man that does but advise either with the *Common Practises*

of the *World*, or with *Humane Frailty*: Taking the *World*, either in *Individuals*, or in *Parties*.

What says the *Artificer*, the *Tradesman*, the *Farmer*? Why should we be put upon Extremities of *Hard Labour*, *Course Fare*, *Rising early*, and *Going to bed late*? (and all little enough to keep our Families from starving) any more then *such*, and *such*; that lie wallowing in *Ease*, *Abundance*, *Luxury*, and *Riot*? But *this* we may thank the *Law* for; that has *Appropriated* those *Possessions* to *Particulars*, which *God Almighty* gave us in *Common*. Why should we be the *Drudges* of the *Kingdom*? (says the *Day Labourer*) the *Law* is their *Enemy* too, because it keeps them in *Awe*, that they dare not *Steal*. It is the same *Case*, with *Traytors*, *Felons*, *Vagabonds*, and all *Criminals*. And so it is with *Factions*, and *Associated Parties*; we might set up *This Government*, or *This Church*; and we, 'Tother, (say they) if it were not for those *Accursed Laws*, that make it *Death* to Endeavour such an *Alteration*. This is a *True* and *Naked* *Accompt* of the *Peoples Thoughts*, and *Reasonings*, in the *Point of Liberty*, and *Obedience*: and a sufficient *Proof* of their *Inclination* (not against *This*, or *That*; but) against *any Establishment*: It being the main *End* of *Government*, to secure the *Community* against the *Encroachments*, and *Attempts* of *Particulars*: Though to the very great *Damage*, and *Ruine*, many times) of *Private Persons*, and *Parties*.

If you be satisfied now, that the *People* do not *Naturally* love *Government*, you need not doubt but they will judge it their *Interest* to *Remove* it: Every *Male-Content*, entertaining himself with hopes of mending his *Condition* upon the *Change*. But *Alas*! This is not an *Undertaking* for *Single Persons*, *Small Parties*, or *Petty Factions*, by *Themselves* apart; but some *Common Medium* must be found out, for the *Uniting* of them *All*; which, indeed, is amply provided for, in the *Project of Liberty of Conscience*: and does not only *facilitate* the *Work*, by drawing the *Disaffected* into a *Body*; but it does also *Countenance*, and *Encourage* it, by *Authorising* the *Separation*.

Indulg. &
Toler.
p. 24.

N. C. But to me, it seems, on the *Contrary*, that an *Indulgence* would set the *Peoples Minds* at *Liberty* from *Fears* and *Contrivances*, for the *avoidance* of *Impendent Dangers*; and encourage them to engage the *Utmost* of their *Endeavours* and *Abilities*, in the *Businesses* of *Peace*, and *Security*.]

C. As to the *Security*, and *Peace* of the *Publique*, if enough be not already said, you may repair to the *History* of our late *Broils*, for the

the rest: Where you will also find the Condition of *Particulars*, to have been every jot as *Distracted*, and *unquiet* (in proportion) as That of the *Government*.

You are to expect *Schism* in *Corporations*, *Companies*, *Families*; as well as in *Religious-Congregations*: *Divisions*, as well betwixt *Parents*, and *Children*; *Masters*, and *Servants*; as betwixt *Rulers*, and *Subjects*: *Feuds* betwixt *Man*, and *Wife*; betwixt *Brethren*, *Kindred*, *Friends*; and all these *Differences*, variously Influenced, according to the *Beneignity*, or *Malignity* of their *Divided Opinions*. Nor will it be any wonder, upon admittance of *this Liberty*) to have as many *Religions* in a *House*, as *Persons*: where the *Husband* draws *one way*, the *Wife* *another*; and the rest of the *Family* have *their ways* by *Themselves*, too. And this goes on, (to the utter *Extermination* of *Order*, *Duty*, and *Quiet*) till they have thoroughly wearied themselves, with *Tossing*, and *Tumbling* from *one Sect*, or *Profession*, to *another*. And then, when they are at their wits End, they commonly take up in the *Church of Rome*, with an *Implicite Faith*, in the Conclusion.

Now if what I have said, may be of force sufficient to prove, that *Liberty of Conscience*, is *destructive*, both of *Religion*, and *Government*; and of the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*, as well *Private* as *Publique*. I cannot see how it should advance us, (as is earnestly suggested) in the *Business* of *Trade*, and *Plenty*.

N. C. We shall never have a *Flourishing Trade* without it: *Be- Liberty of*
cause the *Pressure* in these things falls generally more upon the *Trading sort* *Conscien.*
of men, than any in the *Nation*. We may see it in the *Great City*, and in p. 58, 59.
all Corporations: It makes many give over *Trading*, and *Retire*; It makes
others remove into *Holland*, and other *Forreign Parts*; as it did hereto-
fore from *Norwich*, to the *Irrecoverable Prejudice* of our *Cloathing*
Trade, upon the like *Occasion*; And it certainly prevents all *Protestant*
Strangers to come to *Live* and *Trade* among us.

C. The *Pressure* (you say) falls most upon *Traders*: I answer, that
you begin with a *Non Constat*; for the *Thing* it self does not appear.
And then, you make *Traders* more *Scrupulous* than the rest of the
Nation, who are not *Generally* understood to be more *Conscientious*; as
having diverse *Temptations* in the way of their *Employments*, to
strein a *Point of Conscience* now and then; and they are but a few,
as well as their *Neighbours*. If your *Observation* be *Right*; We may
thank the *Non-conforming Ministers*, who have had the *branding*
of them.

Toleration Discuss'd.

Your urging, that *want of Liberty makes many give over Trading, and Retire*, does not agree with their Observation, that place their wonder on the other side, that so many *Hold*; considering the Circumstances of a long, and Expensive *War* with the *French, and Dutch*. (The most Expensive that ever this Kingdom undertook.) And Two of the most dreadful, and destroying *Judgments* that ever Almighty God laid upon this Nation, *i. e. Pestilence, and Fire*, one upon the neck of another.

You object, *the Removal of others into Holland, as formerly*. Indeed it is not for the Credit of your Cause to mind us of those that formerly left us. Take the Pains to read *Bayly's Disswaver*, Pa. 75. and there you shall see what work they made in *Holland*: Even such, that *Peters* himself was Scandalized at it; quitted his Congregation, and went to *New-England*. *Bridg, Sympson, and Ward*, renounc'd their *English Ordination*, and took *Ordination* again from the *People*. The *People* after this, *deposed, Mr. Ward*; and the *Schism* betwixt *Symptions Church*, and *Bridg* his, was so fierce, that their Ministers were fain to quit their Stations; and the *Dutch Magistrate* forc'd to interpose the *Civil Authority* to quiet them. In *New-England*, their humour, and Behaviour not much Better (according to the Report of the same Author, *Pag. 60, 61,*) Of *Forty Thousand Souls*, not a *Third Part* would be of any Church; and such *Heresies* started, as a Man would tremble to Recite. If only such as *These* forsake us, the Land has a good Riddance.

Further; If it was *to the Prejudice of our Cloathing Trade*, (This Separation) Who can help it? It was Their Fault to betray the Interest of their Country, by teaching the Mystery to *Forreigners*; but no blame at all can be reflected upon the *Government*, for Refusing *Toleration* to such *Lawless, and Unruly Libertines*.

Now as to the hindring of Protestant Strangers from coming over to us, and Trading with us, It is a clear Mistake, to imagine the Church of *England* to be such a *Bugbear* to those of the *Reformation abroad*, as is pretended. (Which shall hereafter be made appear) It is not the Act of *Uniformity* that hinders *Strangers*, but the want of an Act of *Endenisation*; which, perchance, the Wisdom of future Times will find convenient, for the *Supply, and Repair* of that *Depopulation* which is brought upon us by our *Colonies*.

But to come to an Issue. How was it with *Trade*, when *Conscience* took the full Swinge? It brought on a *War*; and so it must again, or a *Standing Army* to prevent it. How many Families were ruin'd, on the one side, with pure *Benevolence* to the Cause in *Contributions*,

butions, and Entertainment, to the Devourers of Widows Houses, and the Captivators of silly Women? and on the other side, as many were undone with Taxes, and Plunder. How went Trading on, when all Business was neglected, but Galloping up and down to Lectures, to hear News, and Sedition? When Prentices robb'd their Masters, and took Sanctuary in the Service? When Publique Faith was a Tradesmans best Security; and the whole Nation held Life, and Estate, at the good Pleasure of a Close Committee?

N. C. Let Liberty of Conscience be once Fitly given, and the Root of all Mens hopes, and Pretensions, that desire Publique Mischief, is pull'd up. Liberty of Conscience p. 58.

C. Fitly, will be well indeed; But (with your Favour) what is the meaning of Fitly? How shall we agree upon the Dos? Unless you intend, that the Magistrate is to continue Giving till the Subject shall leave Asking. And that must be: For, If ever he thinks of holding his hand sooner, he had better have done nothing.

N. C. But what Colour will there be for any further Exception?

C. The very same they have now. New Scruples will bolt New Demands: And Beside; I should be glad if you would furnish me with any one Instance, where the Non-Conformists were ever the better for Indulgence.

SECT. XVII.

This Kingdom has been still the worse for Indulging the Non-Conformists, and the Party never the better. Which evinces, that Uniformity is the True Interest of this Government, and not Toleration.

C. UPON Queen Elizabeth's coming to the Crown, Those Non-Conformists, that fled, in Queen Mary's Days, and Separating from the English Congregation at Francfort, went off to Geneva, came back again for England: and with their Libels, Clamours, Private Consultations, and Meetings, gave Trouble enough to the Government for the Ten first Years of her Majesties Reign; who was, at that time, so beset, with the Roman Catholics, on the One Hand; and the Puritans, on the Other, that she thought it well, upon that Pinch, to save

*save her self, without Exercising Rigor, and Severity upon either Party. This Impunity gave them the Confidence, a while after, to declare themselves for the Geneva Discipline, and (in the Fourteenth of Her Reign) by an Audacious Pamphlet (under the Title of *An Admonition*) to press the Parliament to a Reformation. The Principal Abettors of this Libel were Discover'd, and Clapt up; And soon after, out comes a Second Admonition; telling the Parliament, in Plain English, that, if Authority would not, they must set it up Themselves. And it was not long, ere they were as good as their Words, by Erecting several Formal Presbyteries up and down the Kingdom. (As appeared, upon Undeniable Proof, and Confession of Parties to the Combination.) They had their Synods; their Classical, and Provincial Conferences; Pronounc'd their Decrees; Concurring in the main against Bishops, Ceremonies, and Common Prayer. They had their Agents throughout the Kingdom, upon a strict Survey of the Value of every Benefice; the Number of Parishioners; Their Quality, manner of Life, and Conversation. Their Book of Discipline was long upon the Anvile; but at length, (about 1586.) it was Finished, Communicated, and Subscribed: with a Promise, to observe it Themselves, and to use all Lawful, and Convenient Means to further, and advance it. In Conclusion; the whole Matter came to be Detected; Cartwright, Snape, and several of the Ringleaders, were Examin'd and Committed: whereupon, Coppinger, Arthington, Hacket, Wigginton, &c. Entred into a Conspiracy for their deliverance; and to have the blood of every Man that should dare to give his Vote against them, in the Star-Chamber; nay, to Depose the Queen her self, in Case of her Refusal, to promote the Reformation. And all this, not without the Privy, and tacit approbation of the most considerable Ministers of the Party.*

*Cam'dens
El x.
1591.*

This was the blessed Fruit of Lenity, and Forbearance under Queen Elizabeth; The Law Justled out by a Faction; a Plot upon the Life of the Queen, and Counsel, carried on, under Colour of Religion, and Reformation.

N. C. Still I perceive, you pick out the foulest Cases, and Instances you can lay hold on, to Match with Ours.

C. Is it not rather your Misfortune to write after the foulest Copies? But to the Busiuefs: What would you say, if his Majesty now in being, had Queen Elizabeth's Game to play? Apprehensions of his Life, from Jesuits, Both Protestant, and Papist? The whole Generation of the Non-Conformists United against his Person, and Government, as well in Judgment,

Judgment, as in Faction? (which are here divided into a Thousand Disageements) You would (beyond all peradventure) give the Government for lost, without an immediate Recourse to an Act of Indulgence, and Accomodation, to preserve it. Bnt the Policy of Those Times made Choice rather of another Course ; Some were Imprison'd; Others, Put to Death ; according to the Demerit of the Offence.

N.C. *Are you for Punishing Inconformity with Death then?*

C. No, by no means ; *Hacket*, you know, was not put to Death for Inconformity, but for Treason. And pray let me give You a Brief of his Story, as *Cambden* delivers it.

He was born at Oundle in Northamptonshire ; a Poor, Insolent, Ill-*Cambdens* natur'd, and Illiterate Fellow. He married a Widow, spent her Fortune *Eliz.* in Riot ; and when he had nothing else to Trust to, betook himself 1591. to the Imposture of Religion, and an Affectation of the Geneva Discipline : So far Ingratiating himself with several of the Prime Zelots of That Profession, that they did him the Honour to make Him of their Council, in their Grand Design, (to the Execution whereof, He also pretended an Extraordinary Call, and Commission from Above) He was (in Conclusion) Apprehended, Charged with Treason, found Guilty, Condemn'd, and Executed.

Now to shew you the Devil himself, in the shape of an Angel of Light, This *Hacket*, as He was upon the Hurdle, in the way to his Execution, never left Calling upon Almighty God, with Hideous Outcries : And now behold (says he) the Heavens are Open, *Ibid.* and the Son of the Most High coming down to Deliver me. When he was come to the Place of Execution, He prosecuted his Blasphemies, with more Horrid Exclamations : [Heavenly and Almighty God, Thou that art the Alpha, and Omega, Lord of Lords, and King of Kings ; Thou Eternal God, that knowest me to be the True JEHOVAH, that thou hast sent ; Shew some Miracle from Heaven, for the Conversion of These Infidels ; and save me from my Enemies ; Or if thou dost not, I'll set the Heavens on Fire, and with these very Hands cast Thee out of Thy Throne.

I should have scrupled the bare *Recital* of these *Blasphemies*, were it not for the Desire I have, to Possess you with a Due Consideration of those *Execrable Abuses*, that are frequently Imposed upon the World, under the *Visor* of Religion. The Condition of the Kingdom was doubtless very sad, that had such *Turbulent Spirits* to deal withal; and yet we find, that by One *Severe Law* (of the 35th of the *Queen's Reign*) Her Majesty gave her Self, and her People, *Quiet*, as to That Particular, for the whole *Remainder* of her Life.

The *Penalties* (as I remember) were These: [*Imprisonment without Bail or Main-prise, for being Present at Unlawful Conventicles; the Offender to be discharged, if within Three Months, He made his Open Submission, and Acknowledgment, in the Form by the said Statute appointed. But in Case of Recusancy to Conform within That time, He was required to Abjure the Realm. And in Case of Refusing to Abjure; Or of not Departing within a limited Time; Or of Returning without Licence, to be proceeded against as a Felon, without Benefit of Clergy.*]

Disc. of
Rel. par.
3. p. 40.

N. C. And yet you see, for all your *New-modelling* of Corporations; *Prohibiting* of Conventicles, *Removing Non-Conformists* five Miles from the Place of their Usual Supports, and Influences: Nevertheless, the State Ecclesiastical hath advanced little in the Esteem, Acceptance, or Acquiescence of the People.

C. This is very True; and if *Other Laws* for the Prevention of *Capital Crimes*, were no better *Excuted*, then That for *Uniformity*, Your Argument would lie as fair every jot, for the *Toleration* of *Murder*, as it does now for *Schisms*. But however, it succeeded well with *Queen Elizabeth*; and not worse with *King James*, as appears by the Story.

Ann. 1577 His Majesty (under *Twelve Years Old*) took the Government of Scotland into his Hand. The Year following, the Ministers presented a Form of *Church Policy*, to the Parliament then Sitting; and upon the Debate, matters were agreed, as far as Possible, without Prejudice to the *King's Authority*, and the *Liberty* of the Subject: And These Points were either *referr'd* to further Consideration, or *pass'd over* in Silence. The *Assembly* took snuff at this Dilatory way of Proceeding, and, without more ado, *pass'd* a Vote, for doing their own *Business*, without asking the Parliament leave. They began with the *Arch-Bishop* of *Glasgow*: and presently fell upon the whole order, requiring Them to renounce their *Temporal Titles*, their *Clerical* ris-

dition; To decline their *Votes* in *Parliament*, and to submit themselves to a *Retrenchment* of their *Episcopal Revenues*. Their next step, was the *Demolishing* of the *Cathedral* at *Glasgow*: But when the *Quarriers* were just entering upon the Work, the *Tradesmen* of the Town, in an Uproar, threaten'd the Undertakers, and so they quitted it: But not without a Complaint to the Council, of the Insolence of the *Mutineers*; Which came to This Issue, his Majesty justifi'd the *Tradesmen*, and forbid the *Ministers* any further meddling in the Destroying of *Churches*. And This was all the Cheque they had for so lewd an Outrage.

In 1579. The King wrote to the *Ministers*, not to prejudge the Decisions of the *Parliament*, then approaching, by the Conclusion of their *Assembly*; and to Forbear the Practice of any *Innovations*, till their *Meeting*. Whereupon, instead of *Complying*, they proceeded to a Positive Resolution of *Adhering* to their *Former Conclusions*; Question'd the *Arch-Bishop* of *St. Andrews*, for giving his *Voice* in *Parliament*; and soon after, by an Act of *Assembly*, They commanded the *Bishops*, under Pain of *Excommunication*, not to Exercise the Office of *Pastors*, in any sort whatsoever, without *Licence* from the *General Assembly*; and further directing, the *Patrimony* of the *Church* to be so disposed of, as they should judge Reasonable at their next *Convention*: Thus, by Degrees, growing *Bolder* and *Bolder*, upon *Forbearance*.

The Particulars of their *Usurpations* would be too tedious; I could otherwise tell you of their *Justification* of the *Treasonous Seizure* of the King at *Ruthuen*; Their *Propositions*, and *Complaints* in 1583. with the King's *Gentle Return*; Their *Covenant*, and *Seditious Practices*, even to the Encouraging, and Avowing of *Open Rebellion*. And still the more *Plyant*, and *Easie* his Majesty was, The more *Contumacious*, and *Untractable* were these People. In the End; What with the Tumult at *Edinburgh*, in 1596. and the *Ministers Band of Confederacy*, immediately upon it; The King was forced upon a Resolution of *Rigor*, and *Severity*; and (as *Spotswood* observes) he received little or no *Opposition* thereafter.

At his Majesties Entry upon the Government of *England*, the Ceremonies of his first *Reception*, and *Inauguration* were scarce over, but He was assaulted with *Petitions*, and *Importunities* about the *Reformation* of the Government, and *Liturgy* of the *Church*: in the Name of Thousands of Godly, Learned, and Conscientious Men, that could not Conform: Whereupon, a *Proclamation* was Issued for a

Conference to be held at *Hampton Court*, in *January*, 1604. So many *Bishops*, and *Deans* appointed for the *Church*; and for the *Petitioners*, there appeared, *Dr. Reynolds*, *Dr Sparks*, *Mr. Knewstubb*, and *Mr. Chadderton*.

The Points in Controversie, were Particularly, and Solemnly Debated; and in the End, such Satisfaction given even to the *Plaintiffs* Themselves, that they all promis'd Obedience; and *Dr. Sparks* became, afterward, an *Advocate* for the Orders of the *Church*, and wrote a *Treatise* for Conformity. *Knewstubb* indeed boggled a little, and desired to know, *How far an Ordinance of the Church was Binding, without Offence to Christian Liberty?* Upon which General Question, The King turn'd short, and Answer'd him; *Le Roy's avisera: Let us have no more of Those Questions, How far you are bound to Obey, what the Church has once Ordained: But Conform at your Peril.*

While the Business was fresh, they made a faint Pretense of Appealing to another Conference: but upon second Thoughts, they let it totally fall, and never gave the King any further Trouble upon That Subject.

Thus far, you see, the Government has been preserv'd by strictness of Order, and Uniformity. We come now to those Fatalities of *Tenderness*, and *Relaxation* that destroy'd us.

N. C. You never consider, that the Non-Conformists are more Numerous, and Powerful now then formerly they were, by many Degrees: and that the Dissenters Cause has got Ground upon the Church Interest ever since. But follow your Discourse.

C. In the First of the late King; was exhibited, in Parliament, A Petition, (among other Matters) for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Restoring of Silenc'd Ministers; to which, his Majesty, return'd a Gracious, and Yielding Answer, which produc'd a Remonstrance of Miscarriages in Government; Insomuch, that his Majesty was forced to Dissolve That Parliament.

In the Second Year of his Reign; He call'd another Parliament, which pursu'd the same Method, and went a little Higher then the Former: So that the King was fain to Dissolve That too.

In the Year following; the King call'd Another; and upon their Meeting, went somewhat a quicker way to work with them: Minding them, in a short and pertinent Speech, of their Past Failings; advising them to steer a more Peaceable Course for the Future, and not to put him upon Extremities, to provide for the safety of his People.

People. This change of Stile, and *Resolution*, in his Majesty, drew Immediately from the *Commons* a Grant of *Five Subsidies*. The King was too Generous, and Candid to take That *Present* for a *Bait*; and Relapsing into his former Temper of *Charity*, and *Softness*, was presently accosted with *The Petition of Right*; which after some *Difficulty*, and *Demur*, His Majesty passes: And after *This*, followed a *Petition*, *Remonstrance*, and *Protestation*, which put an End also to That *Convention*.

Look now a little into the *Scotch Affairs*, and observe the Growth of the *Non-Conformists Demands*, from one thing to another; till in the End, by virtue of what the King Granted them, they possess themselves of all the Rest. In their Tumults (says his Majesty) they Kings complain'd only of the *Service Book*. In their *Petition exhibited to the large De-* Council; they complain'd of the *Service Book*, and *Canons*. In their *cla. p. 73.* Covenant they complain of, and Abjure the *Five Articles of Perth*. (although Establish'd, first by a General Assembly, and then by Parliament) After This, they complain of the *High Commission*; And then, of *Prelats Sitting in Civil Judicatories*.

Hereupon, His Majesty Commissions Marquis Hamilton, with full Power, and Authority, to Conclude, and Determine all such Things as Large De- should be found for the Good, Quietness, and Peace of that Kingdom: clar. p. 77. Directing him also to take the mildest Course that might be, for the Calming of those Commotions. And what effect had this Peaceable Inclination of his Majesty, upon the *Covenanters*, but to blow them up into more Seditious, and Bolder Practices, against the King's Authority, and the Publique Peace? They pursue their Demands, and Clamour for a *Free General Assembly*, and a *Parliament*. His Ma- Ib. p. 197. jesty gives them all their Askings: Indicts a *Free General Assembly*, and a *Parliament*; Discharges the *Service-Book*, the *Canons*; *High-Commission*; The urging of the *Five Articles of Perth*: Commands the *Subscribing* of the *Confession of Faith*, and the *Band* thereto annexed; in the very Form which they pretended to Impose; And offers them an Act of *Indemnity* for what was past. In all which Condescensions, the King's *Patience*, and *Mercy* only served to heighten, and confirm those Men in their *Undertakings*, and to expose his *Royal Dignity*, to *Contempt*. In the Conclusion, the King had so far gratified their Importunities, that they had nothing left to Quarrel upon, but His Majesties refusing to *Abolish Episcopacy*, and to admit the Authority of their *Lay-Elders*.

From hence, they broke out into open *Rebellion*; and (when the King had them directly at his Mercy) upon the Interview of two Armies

Armies near *Berwick*, such was his *Tenderness*, that upon their Supplication for a *Treaty*, he Trusted them again, and Concluded a *Pacification*; whereof the *Covenanters* observ'd not so much as One *Article*.

Upon his return to *London*, his Majesty (as is elsewhere observed) passes the *Triennial Bill*; Abolishes the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commission Court*: passes an Act for the continuance of the *Parliament*. Not to insist upon the several other *Concessions*, concerning *Ship-money*, *Forests*, and *Stannary Courts*; *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, *Knighthood*, &c.

Now in *Requitall* of these *Benefits*, the Faction Claps up, and Prosecutes his Majesties *Friends*; *Prefers*, and *Enlarges* his *Enemies*; *Rewards* the *Scots*; *Enterteins* their *Commissioners*; *Votes* Them their *Dear Brethren*, for *Invading* Us; *Calls* in all *Books*, and *Proclamations* against them. They take away the *Bishops Votes*; *Impose* a *Protestation* upon the people; *Take away* Earl of *Strafford's* Life; charge *Twelve* of the *Bishops* with *Treason*; *Declare* the King's *Proclamations* to be *False*, *Scandalous*, and *Illegal*; keep his Majesty out of his own *Towns*; and *Seize* his *Arms*, and *Ammunition*. They present Him with *Nineteen Propositions* for the *Resignation* of his *Royal Authority*. They *Vote* a *General*, and *Raise* an *Army* against him. They *Usurp* the *Power* of the *Militia*, and give the *King Battel*; *Levy Monies*; and *Declare* the *Queen* *Guilty* of *Treason*.

After all These *Usurpations* upon the *Civil Power*, They are put to't to bring the Cause of *Religion* once again upon the Stage: They enter into a *Covenant*; and call in the *Scots* again; They *Abolish* the *Common Prayer*; secure the *Person* of the *King*; *Share* the *Revenues* of the *Church*, and *Crown*. They *Sequester*, *Banish*, and *Imprison* his Majesties *Adherents*; and in the Conclusion, *Sell*, *Depose*, and *Murder* their *Sovereign*.

This was the Fruit of that Pious, and Unfortunate Prince his *Clemency*, and *Indulgence*.

Now to bring the Instance home to the present Times: What could be more *Pious*, *Gracious*, or *Obliging*, then his Majesties *Declaration* concerning *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, in Favour of the *Non-conformists*? All that was possible for the King to do, in Consistence with *Conscience*, *Honour*, and the *Peace* of his *Dominions*, His Majesty has therein given them a frank Assurance of. (with their *Lives*, and *Estates*, over and above, in the Act of *Oblivion*; And are they one jot the *Quieter* for all This? No, but the *Worse*: for no sooner was the King's *Tenderness*, in that Particular, made publique, but the

Generality

Generality (even of those that had lately Entred into a Regular, and Dutiful Compliance with the Orders of the Church) started into a New Revolt: which proves sufficiently, the Benefit, and Necessary of a strict Rule, and the hazard of a Toleration: For rather then abide the Penalty of the Act, they could Conform; but upon the least Glimpse of a Dispensation, they Relapse into a Schism.

Neither do I find, that they were less Troublesome, before the Act of Uniformity, when they Preach'd at *Random*, then they have been since; Nor, to say the Truth, that they have much more Cause of Complaint, Now then they had Then. For what are they the worse, for a Penalty, that is never Executed?

But if you will have a True Measure of their Moderation, and Good Nature: I pray'e take notice of their Proceedings upon His Majesties Commission, for the Review of the Book of Common-Prayer. We will appoint (says his Majesty, in his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs) an Equal Number of Learned Divines of Both Perswasions, to Review the same, and to make such Alterations as shall be thought The Li-
most Necessary. So that the Alterations were to be agreed upon by turgy.
Both Parties, and found likewise to be Necessary. Now instead of Alterations, joyntly agreed upon, They Publish a Complete Liturgy of their own; indeed a New Directory; but under the Title of The Reformation of the Liturgie (which in all their Books, signifies ABO- LITION) Give me the favour, next, to observe upon some of their Necessary Alterations, They have turn'd WEDDED Wife, into MARRIED. *DOEST THOU Believe?* into *DO YOU Believe?* All this I STEDFASTLY Believe, into All this I UNFEIGNEDLY Be- lieve. These are some of the Important Scruples, that are cast into the Balance, against the Unity of the Church, and the Peace of the Kingdom. What is This, but to make Sport with Authority, and Conscience? Laws must be Suspended; Princes Vilified and Importun'd; because forsooth, the Godly Party may not be Govern'd by Laws of their own making: Nay, by Words of their own chusing too; So that we are like to have a Schism, for Syllables, as well as for Ceremonies. For what is the Difference betwixt Wedded and Married, but that the One wears the Stamp of the Law-Makers, and the Others of the Law-menders?

Is it not now evident, that they are the worse for good usage? And that they have ever been so? You see the Effects of keeping to a Rule, in Queen Elizabeth, and King James: And we have since felt, to our Cost, the Effects of a Relaxation: which abundantly satisfies me, That Uniformity is the true Interest of this Government, and not Toleration.

N.C.

Toleration Discuss'd.

N. C. Uniformity is the Interest of This Kingdom, as it is of any other, where there is any fair Possibility of Procuring it. But the Principles of Dissent have taken such Root in This Land, that you may as well think of Depopulating the Nation, as of Uniting it, upon the Points in Question.

C. But I am otherwise perswaded; and that the Party of Non-Conformists is not so considerable, as you make it.

S E C T. XVIII.

The Party of Scrupulous, and Conscientious Non-Conformists, is neither Numerous, nor Dangerous.

C. I Am apt to believe that Party is not so Numerous as you represent it for many Reasons. First; I take *English Mens Consciences*, and their *Neighbors*, to be much of a *Make*: And I do not find the Subject of *Our Controversie*, to be made matter of *Conscience*, by any other sort of *Christians* whatsoever, out of his Majesties Dominions.

N. C. 'Tis well we have Good Authority to the Contrary. The Preface to the Directory assures us, that The Liturgy used in the Church of England, hath proved an Offence, not only to the Godly at Home; but also to the Reformed Churches Abroad. And Smectymnius tells the Parliament, (Pag. 10.) that there is such a vast difference between It, and the Liturgies of all other Reformed Churches, as that it keeps them at a Distance from us.

C. We'll talk of That anon; and in the mean time (with your good leave) pursue what we have now before us. Another thing that perswades me the Conscientious number of Dissenters cannot be very great, is This. The Law has made an Ample Provision for their Relief: Leaving every Household, with Four more, at Liberty to Worship according to their own way. So that the Laity has no Pretense of Complaint; Especially, those that plead for the Ordination of their own Ministers, and maintain, that Seven Persons make a Full, Ministerial, and Completely Organiz'd Church.

A Man might make an Exception to your Account too, upon the Score of Old Reckonings; for you have ever had the faculty of Multiplication.

plication. Your Thousands at Hampton-Court, came to a matter of Nine and Forty: And we remember very well, your old way of *Personating Petitions*, from *Multitudes* of the *Godly*, and *Well-affected*, in both *City* and *Country*; when, effectually, the poor Innocent Papers never Travell'd farther, then from the *Close Committee* to the *Lobby*.

N. C. If you will not Credit Report, believe your Eyes. Do you not find our Meetings Thronged, and many of your Churches Empty?

C. Somewhat, of Both, I must Confess; but yet I am likewise inform'd, that you shew divers of these Meetings, as *Peters* did his *Rings*, and *Bodkins*, at several Places, several times over and over, to make a *Noyse*, and increase the Reputation of your Party.

To contract the Discourse. There is a loud Clamour, and the Ministers make it. And these too, that stickle in the Cause, none of the most Conscientious neither, unless they have a Gospel we never heard of, to Justifie Disobedience in Themselves; the Provoking of it in Others; The Disturbing of the *Publique Peace*, and the Sowing of *Dissention* betwixt *Prince*, and *People*: Which is manifestly the Scope of their Writings, and Design.

N. C. That Undertaking goes somewhat too far, to pronounce upon their Designs. Do you pretend to know their Hearts then?

C. Yes; and with very good Authority, If a Man may be allow'd to judge what Reasonable Men aim at, from deliberate Words, and Actions, that lead naturally, to such and such Certain Ends. And this Humour (I tell ye) of Aspersing the Government, and Teizing the Multitude, runs through all their Papers. I durst appeal to your own Soul, Whether you your self can Imagine, that a Twentieth Part of the present Plaintiffs in matter of Conscience, are truly acted; and possess with that Scrupulosity they pretend to. Alas! Alas! You talk of Conscience: 'Tis not what every Man Thinks, or Says, that is Presently Conscience. We are Impos'd upon by Phansie, Artifice, or Delusion. Some deceive themselves, and Others consen us. In one word, Whatsoever is not of Conscience, in this Medly, is Faction: And undoubtedly, the Conscientious Party has but a slender share in the Mixture.

As That Party is not Numerous, so neither is it Dangerous, upon a Principle of Honesty, and Religion. No Man of Conscience. can either desire to Embroyl the Kingdom, or expect to be the Better for't.

M

But

But still have a care how ye take every thing for Gold, that Glisters. Conscience was the Subject of the last Quarrel; Religion, the Pretext; Popery the Bug-bear; And the Issue of it was Dreadful. Consider with your selves; You have many of the same Persons to lead you on; And They have the very same Matter too, to work upon. You meant no hurt to the last King, you say; And yet you ruin'd him: You may perchance Intend as little Harm to This, and yet do him as much. And what amends is it, when the Government is laid again in Dust, and Desolation, to cry, You were Overseen? If you had thought it should ever have come to This, you would have cut off your Hands, or Tongues; and I know not what. Look Back; and Tremble at the Course you are now upon; for you are Questionless, in the very Track of the late Rebellion. And one may, without Breach of Charity, conclude, that No Man that was an Active Instrument in the last War, can acquit himself of a most Prodigious Impiety, and Ingratitude, in reviving, and prosecuting the same Interest, and Method now against the SON, by which, he notoriously contributed toward the Death of the FATHER.

SECT. XIX.

The Non-Conformists Appeal, from the Government, and Discipline of the Church of England, to the Judgement, and Practise of the Reformed Churches Beyond the Seas; Examined, and Submitted to Censure.

C. IT is observable, that throughout the whole Quarrel against the Orders, and Government of the Church of England, the Non-Conformists still fly for Countenance to the Judgment of the Reformed Churches, Abroad: And so likewise in the Question of Toleration, they Insist much upon the Practise, and Tenderness of Other Churches: As if the Ecclesiastical State of This Kingdom, were as Singular, for Tyranny, and Corruption, as, in Troth, the Litigants Themselves are for Contumacy, and Disobedience.

Ex. Coll.
p. 604.

In the Answer of the Two Houses to the Scots Declaration, 1642. This Government by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. is Declared to be Evil, justly Offensive and Burdensome to the Kingdom; a great Imposition to the Reformation, and growth of Religion: and Resolved it is, that it shall be taken away, with a regard to the Introducing of another Government, more apt to procure an Union, with the Church of Scotland, and Other Reformed Churches Abroad. And the Ministers, in the

P. 13.

the *Petition for Peace*, sing the same Note too: *If Men* (say they) *must be cast out of the Church, and Ministry, because they are not Wiser then the Pastors of most of the Reformed Churches, &c.* As who should say; *The Church of England is the only Protestant Church in the Christian World, that Pretends to this way of Proceeding; and the Protestants Abroad, are all of the Non-Conformists side.* Let this Matter be fairly Examined I beseech you, and we shall quickly see where the Fault lies.

In the first Place; What is the Judgment of the *Reformed Churches abroad, touching the English Episcopacy?*

N. C. You may read their Judgments in their Practises: Or 'tis but looking into the Reformation in France, Holland, and the Neighbourhood, and you may resolve your self, in the Point.

C. Truly I find nothing at all to your Advantage, which way soever I look;

Luther himself distinguishes betwixt *Popish Tyrants*, and *True Bishops*, and professes to Condemn them as *Popish*, not as *Bishops*.

Apol. Conf!
p. 137.

The Authors of the *Augustane Confession* profess; that they would willingly preserve the *Ecclesiastical, and Canonical Politie*, if the *Bishops* would cease to Tyrannize over their Churches.

De Refor.
advers. Ec-
cles. p. 95.

Bucer declares himself wholly, for *Bishops, and Metropolitans*: And Melancthon to Luther; You would not Imagine (says he) how some People are nettled, to see Church-Polity restored: as if it were the *Romish Sovereignty again*. *Ita de Regno suo, non de Evangelio, dimicant Socii nostri.* As if the Quarrel were Dominion, not Religion.

Calvin acknowledges, that the *Ancient Government*, by *Arch-Bishops, and Bishops*; and the *Nicene Constitution of Patriarchs*, was for Orders sake, and Good Government. And delivers himself to Cardinal Sadolet, with an *Anathema* upon the Opposers of that Hierarchy, which submits it self to Jesus Christ.

Zanchie (the Compiler of the *Gallican Confession*) observes a Change of Name, rather than of Office, throughout most of the *German Churches*: As *Super-Intendents*, and *General-Super-Intendents*, in the place of *Bishops, and Arch-Bishops*; Acknowledging that by the consent of Histories, Councils, and the Ancient Fathers, These Orders have been Generally allowed by all Christian Societies. Where they are in Exercise, let them continue; and where, by the Iniquity of the Times, they have been abolish'd; they ought to be restor'd.

Beza (the rigid Successor of *Calvin*) in excuse to the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, for meddling beyond his Sphere:—*We do not charge* (says he) *all Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, with Tyranny.*—*The Church of England hath afforded many Learned Men, and many Glorious Martyrs of That Function.* If That Authority be there still, may a perpetual Blessing go along with it, This, in the Name of the whole Church of *Geneva*, and Addressed, *To the Primate of all England, Totius Angliæ Primati.* *Saravia*, arguing for the *Hierarchy* out of the *Apostles Canons*, *Beza* returns him This Answer. This is no more, then what we wish might be restor'd to all Churches. [Quid aliud hic statuitur, quam quod in omnibus locis, Ecclesiis restitutum cupimus?

View of the Government. The Three Kingdoms of *Swede, Denmark, and Norway* (as *Mr. Durell* observes) retain the Order still, of *Bishops, and Arch-Bishops.* In the *Protestant Cantons* of *Switzerland*, there is also a *Subordination* of *Ministers.* And so in the *Palatinate*; in *Hessen*; the *Duke of Brandenburg's Territories*; *Anhalt, Bremen, Poland, Lithuania, &c.*

Ibid p. 122 Come we now into *France, Holland, and Geneva.* And first here *Mr. du Bosc* of the *Reformed Church* of *Caen.* Well ordered *Episcopacy* hath most Important, and Considerable Utilities, which cannot be found in the *Presbyterian Discipline.*

Ibid. p. 125 *Mr. Gaches*, one of the *Ministers* of *Charenton.* The best Men in our Churches (says he) have honour'd the Prelates of *England.*—The Name of *Schism* may do more harm to the Church in one Year; then the Excess of *Episcopal Authority* can do in an Age. And again: Sin hath brought in the Necessity of Government; and the Failings of Ministers make the Order of Bishops Necessary.

Ibid. 138. *Mr. le Moyn*, of *Roven*, pronounces it to be want of Prudence, and Charity, if any seek the ruine of Bishops, [I trust that his Majesty will be sure to re-establish the Authority of the English Church, and use his Power for a perfect Re-union of all the Reformed Churches; which that he may Effect, His Majesty must preserve his Bishops.]

Ibid. 146. I hold it impossible (says *Mr. Gayon* of *Bourdeaux*) that *England* can ever be quiet, and flourish, but under the *Episcopal Government.*

Ibid. 118. In *Holland, Bogermannus*, (the President of the Synod at *Dort*) upon a Suggestion from the Bishop of *Landaff*, how fit a Remedy *Episcopacy* would be for the Suppression of *Heresies, and Schism*, made this Reply; *Domine non sumus adeo felices*] We are not so happy, My Lord. And for *Geneva*, we have the Voices of the Principals of that Church also, for the Authority, and Advantage of *Episcopal Government.* So that if you be no better Seconded against our Ceremonies, then you are against our Bishops, you have the whole Stream

of

of *Protestant Divines* against you. This is according to what I have formerly had occasion to deliver, upon *This Subject*.

N. C. *We do dissent, upon just Reasons, from the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, or Prelacy, (Disclaimed in Covenant) as it was Stated, and Exercised in These Kingdoms; yet do not, nor ever did renounce the True, Ancient, Frimitive Episcopacy, as it was Balanced, or Menaged by a Due Commixtion of Presbyters therewith.*

Petition
for peace,
p. 5.

C. We are not here to Debate the *Qualifications, and Limits* of the *Episcopacy* you pretend to: but to proceed, having made it appear, that the *Hierarchy*, which (under Colour of *Reduction, or Commixtion*) you formerly rooted out, and are now again *undermining*; is That very *Hierarchy*, which you have now heard *Reverenced, and Recommended* by so many *Venerable Testimonies*. Or, if after all this, you can but produce *one Publique Act* of any *Protestant Church*, beyond the Seas, in favour of your Claim, do it; and save your Party the Credit, of not being *Single, and Particular* in your *Schism*. What have you next to say against our *Ceremonies*?

N. C. *All the best Reformed Churches of Christ, (who only are Competent Judges in this Case, and to whose Judgment, and Example, we ought rather to Conform our selves, in Ceremonies, then to the Synagogue of Anti-Christ) do esteem those Ceremonies, Needless, Inexpedient, and Fit to be Abolished: How the Churches of other Countries approve of them, may appear sufficiently by this, that they have banished the use of them out of their Assemblies.*

The O'd.
NonCon-
formist, p.
21.

C. Are they only *Needless, Inexpedient, and Fit to be Abolish'd* then? I thought you would have found them absolutely *Unlawful, Idolatrous*, and upon pain of *Damnation*, not to be *Retained*. According to this Measure, what will become of the whole Frame of our Government, if it shall take you in the head, to say the same thing of every *Law, and Constitution* of the Land? *Ceremonies* will not down with you, because they are *Needlesse, Inexpedient, &c.* I beseech you, shew me the *Needfulnesse* of *Killing, and Plundring*, or the *Expedience* of *Dissolving Publike Laws, and Depopulating Kingdoms*: and yet these are Matters you can swallow, even without *chewing, needlesse and Inexpedient*? Softly, I beseech you; you are for teaching your *Governors* more *Wit*, as well as more *Religion, and Conscience*.

N. C.

Toleration Discuss'd.

N.C. Keep to your *Text* I pray'e; for we are not now upon the *Lawfulness* of the *English Ceremonies*; but upon an Enquiry, what *Entertainment* they receive in the *Judgement*, and *Practise* of other *Reformed Churches*, without engaging our selves in any other consideration of their *Reason*, and *Convenience*. I say, they are banish'd out of their *Assemblies*, and you are at *Liberty* (if you can) to prove the *Contrary*.

C. Let us first see how far we agree upon the allowance of any *Ceremonies* at all, and where to place the *Right* and *Authority* of *Imposing* them.

The Church of England thinks it convenient, that every Countrey should use such *Ceremonies* as they shall think best, to the setting forth of Gods *Honour*, and *Glory*, &c. which is according to the sense of Other *Reformed Churches*, as appears by their several *Confessions*.

With Us agrees, first, the Church of *Helvetia*. [Churches have always used their *Liberty* in *Rites*, as being things *Indifferent*, which we also do at this Day. That of *Bohemia* likewise; [Humane Traditions, and *Ceremonies*, brought in by a good *Custom*, are with an uniform Consent to be retained in the *Ecclesiastical Assemblies* of Christian People, at the *Common Service* of God. The *Gallican*; [Every Place their *Peculiar Constitutions*, as it shall seem meet for them. The *Belgicus*; [We receive those *Laws* that are fit, either to cherish or maintain *Concord*, or to keep us in the *Obedience* of God. That of *Auspurgh*; [Ecclesiastical *Rites*, which are *Ordein'd* by Man's Authority, and tend to *Quietness*, and *Good Order* in the Church, are to be *Observed*, That of *Saxony*; [For *Order sake*, there must be some *Decent*, and *Seemly Ceremonies*. That of *Swethland*; Such *Traditions* of Men, as agree with the *Scriptures*, and were *Ordained* for *Good Manners*, and the *Profit* of Men, are worthily to be accounted rather of God than of Man.

N. C. The Question is not, about an Agreement in *Ceremonies* that may be *Exercised* without Offence, either to God, or Man; (according to your *Instances*) but about their *Liking*, or *Dislike*, of those in *Practise* among us: As the *Surplice*; *Kneeling* at the *Communion*; The *Cross* in *Baptism*, and the like.

View of
the Go-
vernment,
P. 5.

C. As to the *Surplice*; Mr. Durell tells you, that the Churches that Conform to the *Confession* of *Augsburgh*, have the very same *Ceremonies* with the Church of England: And *Surplices* in many Places. And further; that a *National Assembly* at *Charenton*, Anno. 1631. bath

hath declared, that there is neither Idolatry, nor Superstition in That Worship. The Protestant Ministers also in Bohemia, Lithuania, Prussia, Ibid. p. 24, make no Scruple at all of Preaching in Surplices, whensoever they are called upon to Preach where Surplices are used. Nay, Calvin himself, does not approve of Hooper's violent In-conformity in that Point. Ep. Bullinger. fol. 98. [De Esleo, &c. Veste Linea, maluisssem (ut illa etiam non prebem) non usque adeo ipsum pugnare : Idque nuper suadebam. And let Mr. Baxter pin the Basket. Some Decent Garment is necessary ; either the Magistrate, or Minister himself, or the Associated Pastors must determine what. If the Magistrate or Synod tie all to one Habit, (Suppose it Independent) yet this is but an Imprudent use of Power, and the thing it self being Lawful, I would Obey, and use that Garment. Baxters Five Disputations, disp. 5 ca 2. sect. 40.

N. C. You only make mention where it has been used, and permitted ; but you take no Notice where it has been Rejected. And then the Personal Authorities you cite, in favour of it, declare their Judgments to be still against it.

C. But only so against it, as not to Allow of a Separation, upon That Scruple. Now whereas you object the Refusal, or Rejection of it, elsewhere : It does not follow, that every Church disallows, what it does not Practise : And it shall content me, to find the Practise of many Churches for us, and None, against us.

As to Kneeling at the Communion ; the Bohemian Churches use that Posture, and so do the Churches of Poland. With whom, the French, and Dutch do so far agree, as *In hoc Ritu, suam cuique Ecclesie Libertatem salvam relinquere.* To leave every Church at its own Freedom, in that Particular.] Mr. Baxter in his Five Disputations, does also profess, that rather then disturb the Peace of the Church, he would Kneel too ; How hardly soever he may think of the Imposition. So that in the Case of Kneeling, likewise, we have several of the Reformed Churches that joyn with us in the Practise of it, and not so much as any one of them, that appears in our Condemnation.

Touching the Use of the Cross in Baptism ; (beside the undeniable Antiquity of the Custom) you may hear from Mr Durell, that The Reformed Churches of the Confession of Augsburgh, do for the most part use it ; and that at Paris, many Children of the Church of Charenton, have been Baptized in the Chappels of the English Embassadors there, according to the Rites of the Church of England. And moreover, that only : View of the Government, pa. 42.

only the *Non-Conforming English*, and *Scotch* oppose it. I could enlarge myself, upon very good Authority, to the justification of our way of Worship, *throughout*, in every *Particular* of your *Exceptions*; but I will rather chuse to encounter *all your Objections at once*; by proving, that the *Protestant Churches, Abroad*, have as great a *Reverence* for the *Authority, Rites, and Ceremonies* of the *Church of England*, in the whole *Frame of the Constitution*, as they have a *Kindness* for the *several Parts* of it, which they do *severally Exercise* among *Themselves*.

I must still be beholden to the Industry of the Reverend *Durell*, who has much obliged us with a clear, and Methodical Manifestation of the *Agreement of the Church of England*, (as it is now *Established* by the *Act of Uniformity*) with other *Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*.

View of
the Go-
vernment,
P. 63.

Sir John Colladon (one of his Majesties Physicians in Ordinary) had the Honour to Congratulate his Majesties Restoration, from the *City and Church of Geneva*, and from the *Protestant Cantons in Switzerland*. Upon his departure, he put this Quære to the Rulers of the said Church; Whether he might Lawfully Joyn with the Church of *England*, in Publick Worship, and receive the Holy Sacrament according to the usual Rites thereof? It was answered, that he might; and that it was not to be question'd.

Ib. p. 73.

Ib. p. 90.
Ib. p. 92.

Here is also, a whole French Reformed Congregation, that hath Conformed to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, to the great satisfaction of the Divines at *Rouen, Paris, Geneva, Bourdeaux, &c.* And since the Establishment of this Church, divers Ministers have come over from *Geneva, France, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Piedmont*; Students, Elders, Private Persons: and none of them ever yet refused, either to assist, or conform.

ib. p. 64.

Mr. de Laune, Minister of the *Wallons Church at Norwich*; and *Mr. Calendrin* one of the Ministers of the *Dutch Church in London*, have divers times Officiated in *English Congregations*, according to the *Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England* without any Scandal, either Given, or Taken.

Ib. 69.

Scripta
Anglica.
P. 445.

Nay, so far are they from disowning us, that the French Divines hold them for *Schismaticques*, and *Punishable*, that refuse Communion with us. *Bucer* thanks God with all his Soul, to see the *English Ceremonies so pure*.

N.C. And have they, I beseech you, their *Set Forms*? Their *Peremptory Impositions*? Their *Declarations*, and *Subscriptions*?

C. Yes,

C. Yes, yes; all this, and more for *Set Forms*, methinks you should rather tell me *any one Reformed Church* that wants a *Set Form*, then put me to the trouble of *Naming* all that have. *Calvin* and *Beza* are Positive for them. *Geneva* much more severe for the Observance of them, then we are here; *Inconformity* there, is cause of *Banishment* for a Year: and the *Gallican Church* makes it a matter of *Excommunication*. In *Geneva*, *Calvin* establish'd his *Discipline* by an Oath, both upon *People*, and *Pastors*, to observe that *Form* for ever after. The *Ministers* take an Oath of *Canonical Obedience* in *Hungary*; And the *French Divines* are not admitted, without *Subscription*. There's no *Imposing* upon *Publike Laws*, with *Private Scruples*: No bandying allow'd, betwixt *Conscience* and *Authority*: He that will not submit to the *Orders* of a *Community*, away with him (says *Calvin*.) It is not enough to take cheque at the *Constitutions* of the *Church*, under colour of a weak *Conscience* (or so pretended) but you must be fully satisfied, that the *Constitution* is *Wicked In It Self*. Nay, *Calvin* carries it further. Suppose it really ministers *Matter of Offence*; (says he) *That will not serve to vacate the Obligation*, unless it be also found to be *Simply*, and *In It Self Repugnant* to the *Word of God*. [*Quia tamen Verbo Dei per se non Repugnat, Concedi potest*. To provide against *Evil consequence*, is the *Magistrates Duty*, not the *Subjects*.

Hobk. Eccl. Pol. Preface.

N. C. The *Worship of God*, is in it self *Pure*, and *Perfect*, and *Decent*, without having any such *Ceremonies* affixed thereunto; [*And many Faithfull Servants of the Lord*, knowing his *Word* to be a *Perfect Rule* of *Faith*, and *Worship*, have ever been exceeding fearful of *Varying* from his *Will*, and of the *Danger* of *Displeasing* him, by *Additions*, or *Detractions*, in such *Duties*.

Two Papers of Proposals, P. 7, 8.

C. You will hardly find any honest *President* for this *Nicety*. (*Calvin* would have given it a worse *Name*) *Testatum Velim* (says he) *me non de Ceremoniis Litigare, quae Decoro tantum, & Ordini Serviant: vel etiam Symbola sunt, & Incitamenta ejus, quam Deo deferimus Reverentia*. He *Declares* himself, you see, not only for *Ceremonies*, of *Order*, and *Decency*; but for *Ceremonies* of *Significancy*, and *Incitement* to *Reverence* and *Devotion*. And in another Place, *Ergone* (*Inquires*) *nihil Ceremoniarum rudioribus dabitur, ad juvandam Eorum Imperitiam? Idego non dico; omnino enim utile illis esse sentio, hoc Genus Adminiculi.*] Will you allow of no *Ceremonies* then at all, (you'll say) for the *Instruction* of the *Vulgar*? You do not hear me say so; for I am clearly of opinion; that they are of very great *use*, and *service* to the *People*.

Instit. lib. 4. c. 9 sect. 14.

N

Upon

Toleration Discuss'd.

Upon the Main; The *English Non-Conformists*, (as Mr. Durell well observes) are a sort of People by themselves; and *Non-Conformists*, at Geneva, and Francfort, as will as at Canterbury, or London.

N. C. But still, methinks, whatsoever our Consciences are as to the way of Publick Worship, we might yet be Indulged with an Allowance of Serving God among our selves. Why should a Toleration do worse Here, then in Holland?

C. I might Answer you with another Question. Why should a Commonwealth do worse Here, then in Holland? Or Why should a Standing Army do worse Here, then in Holland? Beside if you look narrowly into it, you will find the Dissenters from the Settlement There, to be rather Strangers, then Natives. English, French, High-Dutch, that flowed into them upon the General Revolt from the Church of Rome: Lutherans, and Anabaptists, out of Germany; Calvinists out of France; Separatists, and Semiseparatists out of England, in the Days of Queen Mary, and Independents, since; all which were entertain'd, more out of Regard to Policy, then Conscience; their Business being at that time to shake off the Yoke of Spain, and Change the Government: To which End, these several Parties contributed effectually, by preparing the People for the Alteration Intended; and inuring them to New Principles, both of Religion, and State.

And yet you are not to understand *Theirs* to be a Perfect Toleration neither. For you see, they would not, upon any terms, allow That Freedom to the *Arminians*, which they did to Others; but Conven'd a Synod, and Exterminated the Sect. The reason was, they had a Jealousie of the *Arminians*, for Barnevelt's sake, the Head of that Party.

You are to take notice also of the great difference betwixt the Interest, and Condition, of Our Ministers, and *Theirs*. Our Clergy have a Freehold in their Benefices for Term of Life; and if they be Factionously disposed, they may Evade the Law, and do a Mischief, without making a Forfeiture. Whereas *Theirs* Preach upon Good Behaviour; Live upon the States Pay; and upon the least Colour of Offence, may be turn'd off at pleasure. I need not tell you what Havock, Peters, Bridges, Symson, Ward, made in Holland: But what they did Abroad, the same thing they would have done at Home, if they had been Tolerated.

N. C. What do ye think of Poland then?

C. I think,

C. I think, That Story speaks little to your Advantage: take it either in respect of their frequent *Sedition*, or in Regard of their Prodigious, and Heretical *Opinions*: And yet they live under the strongest Obligation in Nature to keep them quiet; the *Tartar*, and other *Powerful Neighbours*, lying hard upon them; which makes their Case to be rather an *Agreement* against a *Common Enemy*, then among *Themselves*.

N.C. Now take all at the worst. It is but *Athanasius* against the world, and The World against *Athanasius*. Number and Truth, are not always of a Side.

C. And yet Your *Multitudes* make up a part of your *Argument*. This however let me speak for you; There has no *Industry* been wanting to Propagate your *Profession*.

In the Year 1619. The *Scotch Discipline* was presented to the Synod at *Dort*, for their *Approbation*: but they would not meddle with it.

Anno 1654. Upon the Reprinting (at *Geneva*) of A Collection of *Spotswoods* the several *Confessions of Faith*, received in all the *Reformed Churches* Hist. of Scotland, p. 540. of *Europe*; under the Title of, *Corpus, & Syntagma Confessionum Fidei*, *Scotland, &c.* It was moved that the *Thirty Nine Articles* of the Church of *England*, might be left out, and the *Assembly Mens Confession*, put in the place: But the Motion was totally rejected, The *Thirty Nine Articles* View of the Government, pa. 373. *Inserted*, and not a word of the *Directory*.

They had no better luck with their *Covenant* neither, when with their *Discipline*, [*The Ministers, and others of the Consistory at Charenton, and of other Reformed Churches in France; as also the Professors, Ministers, and Consistory of Geneva, and of other Neighbouring Reformed Churches in those Parts, were so scandalized with this Prodigious Covenant, as that they were afraid of nothing more, then this, that it would bring an indelible Scandal upon the Reformed Churches, and alienate the Minds of all the Princes of Christendom, from ever entertaining a good Thought of their Religion.* Kings large Decla. p. 75.

The *Venerable Assembly* of *English Divines*, and *Scotch Commissioners* (as they stiled Themselves) sent the Copy of their *Covenant*, and a *Solemn Invitation* to *Seventeen Reformed Churches* beyond the Seas to Joyn with them. Their *Letter* should have been *Latin*; But so it was, that they left it a *Measuring Cast*, whether they were the better *Christians, Cistsists, Subjects, or Gramarians*. Their skill was most

employ'd, in Exhorting the *French Protestants* to follow *Their Example*, and cast off the Yoke of *Antichrist*; (that is to say, of *Obedience*.) And in Calumniating their *Sovereign*, as a *Confederate* with the *Popish Interest*, to destroy the *Protestancy*. Which *Design*, was only to be obviated, by a *Holy League*. This was the Drift of the *Address*; But we never heard Syllable of the *Answer*.

There needs no more be said to prove the Judgment of the *Reformed Churches* strong, and *unanimous* against you; and you had best make a Trial, if you can supply by *Reason*, and *Argument*, what you want in *Countenance*, and *Authority*.

SECT. XVII.

The Non-Conformists Exceptions to Our Publike way of Worship, found Guilty of Great Impiety, and Errour.

C. **W**Hat are your *Exceptions* to *Our Way of Worship*? Are they *General*; or *Particular*? Is it the *Imposition* it self, or the *Thing Imposed*, that displeases you?

N. C. *Why truly Both. The One takes away my Christian Liberty; and the Other, the Liberty of my Conscience. The greatest part of my Trouble, is the Act of Uniformity.*

C. Is it the *Model*, or the *Uniformity* you stick at?

N. C. *Both alike; for neither is the Particular Act fram'd to my Satisfaction; nor is it possible that any One Form of Worship should suit All Judgments.*

C. Will *Toleration* suit *All Judgments*, any better then *Uniformity*? But, I perceive, you do not accompt the *Sanction* of any *One Form whatsoever* to be *Lawful*.

N. C. *Indeed I do not think it Lawful for a Magistrate to enjoyn any thing upon a Penalty, which a Private Person may not Conscientiously Obey him in; Nor do I think it Warrantable, for a Man to Obey any Humane Command, against the Dictate of his Conscience.*

C. Put This together now. First, *It is not Possible that any One Form*

Form of Worship should suit All Judgments : And then, it is not Lawful to enjoyn any thing upon a Penalty, which does Not suit All Judgments. What is This, but a meer Trifling of Government ; to suppose a Law, without an Obligation ?

Again ; If the Magistrate cannot Impose, neither can he Tolerate ; unless you'll suppose him a more Competent Judge of Your Conscience, then of his Own : for you allow him to Understand what he may Tolerate, and deny him the Knowledge of what he may Impose. So that either he has no Power, or no Reason to favour you : No Power, as you state his Capacity ; And no Reason, as you disclaim his Authority. But you were saying, that the Imposition takes away your Christian Liberty. As how, I beseech ye ?

N. C. In making Those things Necessary, which Christ left Free. For wherein does Christian Liberty more concern it self, then in the Free use of Indifferent, or the Forbearance of Doubtful things, which we are bound entirely to preserve ; And whereof, by your Ecclesiastical Injunctions, we stand Depriv'd ?

C. If the King be Ty'd up, in Matters that are either Commanded, or Forbidden ; and the People left at Liberty, in things Indifferent : I would fain know what Authority has to work upon. But this Point will fall in of it self by and by : Though enough be said already, to prove your Position utterly destructive of Order, and Society. For there is but Good, Bad, and Indifferent, in Nature : What we are Bound to do ; What we are Bound Not to do ; and What we may either Do, or Let Alone. (That is to say, without the Interposal of some Incidental Obligation to determine that Indifference.)

The Asserters of this Doctrine, fetch their Warrant for it, out of St. Paul to the Galatians 5. 1. Stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. Upon this Text they ground their Exemption. But here they prudently stop too ; for the Context would have spoil'd all : And they might as well have Argu'd against the Efficacy of Christ's Death, from the latter part of the second Verse, as for Christian Immunity, (in the Latitude they understand it) from the former part of the first. The Apostle goes on in These Words ; And be not entangled again with the Yoke of Bondage. 2. Behold ; I Paul say unto you, that if ye be Circumcised, Christ shall profit ye nothing. For I testifie again to every Man that is Circumcised, that he is a Debtor to do the whole Law.

The

The Case, briefly, was This. By the Coming of our Blessed Saviour, the Jewish Ceremonies were *abolish'd*: Some that had a mind to Continue them, and keep the People still under the Yoke of the Law, stood for the Doctrine of the *Circumcision*, (which was here the very matter in Question.) The Apostle cautions the *Galatians* against it; and *not to be entangled again with the Bondage of the Law*. Which amounts only to a *Discharge* from the *Bondage* of that Law to which they were *before* Subjected; without extending That *Liberty*, to the Prejudging of *Authoritative Laws*, and *Impositions* for the time to come. As if the Apostle had Preached one thing to the *Galatians*, and the contrary to the *Romans*. Obedience, at pleasure, in one place; and Obedience under pain of *Damnation*, in another.

In the Second, and Third Verses, St. Paul (you see) clears, and presses it further. As if he had said; *Be Circumcised at your Peril*. For That single Point of the Law, makes you answerable for the Performance of every tittle of it. We are not (says Calvin) *Perperam ad Politicum Ordinem*) perversly to apply the Doctrine of Spiritual Liberty, to Political Order, as if Christians were to be ever the less Subject to External Government by Humane Laws, because their Consciences are set at Liberty before God. Nay, says he, in another place; *Si Ecclesia Incolumitati bene prospectum volumus*] The Church can never be safe, without St. Paul's Decency and Order. But in regard of the diversity of Customs; and the variety of Mens Minds, and Opinions; It is not possible to secure any Polity, without the Authority of certain Laws; or to preserve any Order, without some stated Form. Now so far am I from condemning any Laws conducing to this End, [Ut his ablatis, dissolvi suis Nervis Ecclesias, Totalque Deformari, & Dissipari contendamus] that I look upon the Removal of them, as the Dissolution of the very Sinew of the Church, and expect nothing after it, but Deformity, and Dissipation. Nor is it to be imagin'd, that All things should be done Decently, and in Order, (after the Apostles Precept) but by the mediation of certain Rules, and Observations, which may serve as so many Bonds for the Regulation of that Decency, and Order. Always provided, That Those Ceremonies be not Imposed as Necessary to Salvation, or Essential to God's Worship.

From your Plea for *Christian Liberty*, (which is a Proposition, in it self; destructive of all Communities) let us now move to your next Exception, in the Matter of *Scruple*: which I am afraid will be found no less Intolerable in Religion, then the other was in Government; and Dangerous enough in Both.

It would take a Man an Age to run through all the Quirks, and Niceties

Niceties of the Question; and to trace every *Particular*, in dispute, from the *Original* of its *Practise*, or *Institution*. And beside; It were but *Actum Agere*; for the *Lawfulness*, and the *Antiquity* of *Bishops*, *Liturgies*, and *Ceremonies*, with all the *Minutes*, and *Circumstances* of the *Case*, has been abundantly, and *irrefragably* clear'd already, by many *Reverend*, and *Learned* Hands. I must not say *Unanswerably*, because the *Opponents* would still have the *Last Word*; And they have *Replied* indeed, with much *Confidence*, and *Verbosity*; which has had the luck to pass with the *Common People*, for *Authority*, and *Reason*. The *Scripture*, and the *Fathers* (in the *Interim*) complain of very hard dealing from them, and make open *Protestation*, that they never so much as *dreamt* of what our *Novelists* deliver to the World in *Their Names*. But however, (*right or wrong*) their *Margents* are still *Embroider'd*, with *Texts*, and *Testimonies*, in evidence of their great *Piety*, and *Abilities*: All which their *Disciples* *Swallow* and *Swear*, without understanding one Syllable of the *Matter* in *Contest*. For alas! They are a sort of People, that hold very little *Intelligence*, with *Antiquity*, or *Learning*. Their *Business* lies in their *Shops*, and at their *Trades*, or *Labours*. What have They to do with *Counsels*, and *Fathers*? What *Accompt* can they pretend to give, of the *Practises* of the *Primitive Times*, and the *Stream* of *Ecclesiastical Story*? And upon *This Hinge* moves the *Frame* of the *whole Dispute*! wherein they do manifestly *pass Sentence* without *Knowledge*, and govern themselves totally by an *Implicit Faith*. So that, being *prepossess'd*; It is but *Scribbling on*, and keeping out of their *Reach*, to perpetuate the *Quarrel*. This I say; Unless the *Subject* of it, might in such manner be *brought down*, and *accommodate* to the *Capacity* of the *Vulgar*, as to make way for an *Appeal* from the *Snares* of *Artifice*, and *Imposture*, to the *Rules*, and *Measures* of *Common Reason*.

The Church of *England* is now labouring under the *Scandal*, and *Distraction* of a violent *Schism*; by reason) as we are told) of many *Doubting*, and *Scrupulous Consciences*, that cannot *Conform* to her *Rites* and *Orders*: and Heavy *Complaints* are advanced against the *Government*, on the behalf of the *Dissenters*.

In the *first place*, let us enform our selves, *Who are the Promoters* of this *Complaint*? Secondly, *What Warrant have they for so doing*? Thirdly, *Do they Well, or Ill in't*?

N. C. Your first *Question* is soon resolved: The *Complainants* are the *Dissenters*.

We.

C. We are never the nearer for That Answer : for neither does it appear to us, that all the *Dissenters* are *Complainants* ; nor that all the *Complainants* are *Really* and in *Truth*, *Dissenters* : Nay we are able to produce the *Hands*, and *Declarations* of many of your prime *Champions*, in Evidence to the *Contrary*. But to keep on our Course ; The only *Complainants* we can take notice of, are the *Silenc'd Ministers*, in their *Private Books*, and *Sermons*.

Petition
for peace.
P. 5.

Ibid.

N. C. Should not the Love of Christ command us to be tender of Those that are so tender of his Honour ; and to take heed what we do to Men, for taking heed of Sin, and being afraid to offend the Lord ? And should not the Special Love of Christians, and the Common Love of Men, command us to be loth to drive them by Penalties, upon that which they Judge, doth tend to their Everlasting Damnation ; And which indeed doth tend to it, Because they Judge it so to do : Suppose they be *Mistaken*, in thinking the things to be so displeasing to God, Yet it is commendable in them, to be fearful of displeasing him.

C. And do not you find now, that in the same *Breath*, you *Raise*, and *Encourage* the *Scruples* you complain of ; and plead (effectually) but for *Doubts of your own making*. This is a Method for *Counterfeit Cripples*, not for *Faithful Ministers* ; To make *Sores*, on purpose, to *Beg Plaisters*. But it is to be hop'd, that This is not done without good *Warrant*, and *Authority* : and I should be exceeding glad to see a Copy of their *Commission* for what they do.

N. C. It is a Duty of their Pastoral Office, to have a care of their Sheep.

C. But they have no *Sheep* at all, unless they steal them out of other Mens *Flocks*, I think we may take for granted, that they have no *Legal Warrant* : for the *Non-Conformists*, and the *Act for Uniformity*, are *profest Enemies* : and these *Proceedings* are, point-blank, in *defiance* of it.

From the *People*, they can have none neither ; For *They* are concluded already, by their own *Act*, (in their *Representatives*) against the very thing they pretend to. Or if *That Bar* were away ; yes, and a greater difficulty too, that follows it ; which is, The *Moral Impossibility of bringing all the People together*, that are to be *Parties to the Commission* : I am perswaded, it would pose the best *Conveyancers* in this Kingdom, to draw up a *Deed of Trust*, to *That Purpose*, without a
Flaw

Flaw in't. That is to say: A *Commission* from the *Diffusive Body* of the *People*, must be Directed to such and such *Ministers*, as *Commissioners* for *Tender Consciences*.

From *Heaven* it never came neither, I do verily believe. For most certainly *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, never Issued out any *Commission*, for the *Distracting* of *Consciences*, and *Societies*. We read indeed of *Confirming the Weak*, but not a *Syllable*, of *Staggering* them. And for the *Extraordinary Ways*, of *Vision*, and *Revelation*, they are not so much as mention d.

N. C. If you would have given me leave, I would have told you, e'en now, that they are Warranted by a *Sense*, and *Impression* of *Conscience*, in the *Discharge* of their *Pastoral Duty*: Which obliges them, [To *Petition* watch over their *Flock*; To preserve them from *Errours*, *Heresies*, for peace, *Divisions*; To Defend the *Truth*, Confute *Gainayers*, and *Sedu-* p.79. cers, instruct the *Ignorant*, Excite the *Negligent*, Encourage the *Despondent*, Comfort the *Afflicted*, Confirm the *Weak*, Rebuke, and Admonish the *Disorderly*, and *Scandalous*.

C. Here's much against you, and not one Word in your Favour. Instead of Preserving their *Flocks* from *Heresies* and *Divisions*, your *Pastors* demand a down-right *Toleration* of them. And instead of Encouraging the *Despondent*, Comforting the *Afflicted*, and Confirming the weak; They tell the *Distressed*, (for their comfort) that if they do any thing with *Doubting*, they shall be *Damn'd*; and never go further, to deliver them from those *Doubts*; but their they very fairly leave them, Surrounded with *inextricable Scruples*; and their very *Souls*, Broken, and confounded with *Agony*, and *Horror*. Whether they do Well, or Ill, now be You your self the Judge.

My Opinion is, that they have as little to say for the *Conscience* of their Proceedings, as any way else. First, Their very *Preaching*, and *writing*, (by reason of their *Legal Incapacity*) is a *Transgression* of the *Law*. Secondly, In the *Matter it self*, they are too blame; for it is of very evil Consequence, both upon the *Publique*, and upon *Particulars*. To say nothing of their Undertakings for other *Mens Consciences*, which is a *Priviledge* belonging unto *God himself*.

That they do Ill, in disobeying the *Law*, and in troubling the *Government*, I suppose you will not deny: And yet am I perswaded, that the very *Foundation* of their *Plea* for *Separation*, and *Dissent*, is the greatest part of the *Mischief*. We have *Laws Ecclesiastical*, for the

the Ordering of the Church, and you refuse to Obey them. For what Reason, I beseech you?

N. C. *The best Guide in the case of Impositions, and Obedience, I take to be the Word of God; and our Doubtings sure are very Reasonable, concerning God's Worship, where the Scripture gives no Direction. Shew us where they are Commanded in the Gospel, and we are ready to Obey them.*

Hookers
Eccle. Pol.
1. 2. sect. 8.
Ibid.

Ibid.

C. *The Scripture is the Rule of our Faith, not of our Outward Actions, and Practise, [Whatsoever, to make up the Doctrine of Man's Salvation, is added, as in supply of the Scriptures Insufficiency, we reject it. But does it therefore follow, that All things Lawful to be done, are comprehended in the Scripture? Admit This, and God in delivering Scripture to his Church, should clear have abrogated amongst them, the Law of Nature, which is, An Infallible Knowledge Imprinted in the Minds of all the Children of Men, directing us in the Choice of Good and Evil, in the Daily Affairs of this Life. Admit This; and what shall the Scripture be, but a Snare, and a Torment to Weak Consciences filling them with Infinite Perplexities, Scrupulosities, Doubts Insoluble, and Extream Despairs? Not that the Scripture it self doth cause any such thing, but the Necessities of this Life, urging Men to do that which the Light of Nature, Common Discretion, and Judgment of it self directeth Men unto: On the other side, This Doctrine teaching them that so to do, were to Sin against their Souls; and that they put forth their Hands to Iniquity, whatsoever they go about, and have not first the Sacred Scripture of God for their Direction. How can it chuse but bring the Simple a Thousand Times to their Wits End? How can it chuse but vex and amaze them; to be obliged in every Action of common Life, to find out some Sentence of Scripture, Clearly, and Infalibly setting forth, what we ought to do? Admit This, and it shall not be with Masters, as it was with him in the Gospel; but Servants being commanded to go, shall stand still, till they have their Errand Warranted unto them by Scriptures. Thus far the Learned Hooker: in Agreement with Mr. Calvin, (the Oracle of the other Party) in his Chapter of Christian Liberty, who writes to this Effect.*

Calvin
Instit. 1. 3
c. 9. se. 7

Let every Man have a care not to make thing; Indifferent, Matters of Religion; for nothing can be more necessary then the right understanding of That Liberty; without which, we shall never have any Peace of Conscience, and there will be no End of Superstition. [Quæ si aberit, nulla Conscientiis nostris futura est Quies; Nullus Superstitionum finis]

He

He that Scruples the *Lawfulness* of *Eating*, or *Drinking Delicacies*, will by *degrees*, let his *Scruple* fall to *Meats and drinks less delicate*, and so from one thing to another, lower and lower; (and all all this while, in a perpetual *Anxiety of Conscience*) till he comes at last to satisfy himself, that what he takes, both for *quantity*, and *quality*, is but just sufficient to entertain the absolute *Necessities of Nature*. He must have a *Text* for every thing he does; and not step over a *Straw*, without consulting *Scripture* first: and every *common Action* is made a *Case of Conscience*. From this miserable *Perplexity of Mind*, what can be expected, but *Despair*, and *Confusion*? *Hanging*, *Drowning*, *Cutting of Throats*, and all the wretched *Extremities of Violence*, which those poor *Creatures* exercise upon themselves, as their last *Retreat*, to avoid the *Fury of a Tormenting Conscience*.

This is the *Fruit of the Doctrine of Christian Liberty*, a *Dangerous*, and an *Impious Position*; and can have no other *Aim*, (In *Truth*, scarce any other *Issue*) than the *Vacating of Humane Laws*; and the *Extermination* of all *Principles of Duty*, and *Subjection* out of the *Hearts of the People*. But to be as short as may be, you see the *Effects* of your *Scruples*; pray'e speak a little to the *Grounds* of them. What *Exceptions* have you to our *Common-Prayer*? And see if you do not from one end to the other, fall foul upon your *Arguments*.

N. C. It is devised by Men.

C. So are your *Ministers Prayers*; and all *Prayers* whatsoever, *Scripture Forms* Excepted.

Trial of
the Engl.
Liturgy.

N. C. It is Imposed upon the *Ministers, and People, of Necessity*.

P. 4.
Ibid. p. 5.

C. The *Imposition of the Directory* was yet more *General, Strict, and Peremptory*. There was no *Dispensation* for a *Family*, and *Four more*, which, as it might be improv'd, takes in well nigh the whole *Kingdom*.

N. C. But your *Common Prayer* is stinted, both in *Matter, and Words, to be used without Variation*, and so was not the *Directory*.

C. Why may not the *Church* impose a *Stinted Form* upon the *Minister*, as well as the *Minister*, (if he so pleases) upon the *People*? For if the *Minister* be left at *Liberty* either to keep to one *Form*, or to vary, at his own *Election*, The *Congregation* is at his *Mercy*, whether

they shall have a *Stinted Form*, or *No*. *Smeetyminuus* is so gracious as to allow of a *Stinted Form*, himself; in Case the Minister shall be found insufficient to discharge the Duty of Prayer in a Conceiv'd way: But then it is to be Imposed on him as a Punishment: To use Set Forms, and no other. So that it is not the *Unlawfulness* it seems, of a *Set Form*, nor the *Imposition*, but the *Inexpedient* you stumble at: And the World is at a fine pass sure, when the *Parliament of England* shall not presume to make *Laws*, without asking the *Silenc'd Ministers* Opinions first, about the *Expedience* of them. The *Directory*, as to the *Matter* of it, is as well a *Stinting* of the Spirit, as the *Common Prayer*. For in the *Substance* and *Scope* of the Prayer, the Minister is limited; only for the *Wording* of it, he is at his own *Freedom*: And if he may but turn *Almighty* and most *Merciful Father*, into *Omnipotent* and most *Gracious Lord God*, the Peace is concluded. Otherwise we are to look for nothing but *Fire and Sword*: *Lives, Laws, and Liberties*, must be hazzarded in the *Quarrel*.

N. C. Do you make no difference between Imposing Set Forms, upon a few Insufficient Ministers, and upon a Multitude of Others, in Common, that have the Gift of prayer.

C. No none at all, as to the *Exemption* of any Man from the *General Rule*. Beside; What Security can any Man give, that he shall continue in the Right Exercise of his Reason? Put case your *Gifted Minister* should be taken with some Distemper that seizes the *Brain*, and *Disorders*, (or but *Clouds*) his *Understanding*: Nay, let it be only some faint, drowsie *Indisposition* of *Body*, or *heaviness* of *Mind*; What becomes of the *Assembly*, under so Languid, Spiritless, (and perchance *Extravagant*) a *Dispensation*?

Further: The *Right*, and the *Reason* too, of Imposing upon One Minister, extends to All.

Again; If a *Set Form* may be admitted, where the Minister is not good at *Extempore*; What becomes of your Argument, I beseech ye, for the *Consciences* of the *Congregation*? unless you understand the *weaknesse* of the Minister to be a *Dispensation* for the *Scruples* of the *People*; In which case, it may be lawful for the *King* and *Parliament* to Impose a *Service-Book*.

And yet again; Over and above the *Vanity* and the *Arrogance* of the *Undertaking*; do me but the favour to consider, what an *Irreverence*, what a *Prophanation* of Gods Holy *Worship*, and *Ordinances*, must needs ensue upon it. The *Desk* is turned into an *Oratory*, as well for

for the Tryal of Gifts and Faculties, as for the Exercise of them : and half the business the Congregation has at Church, is to hear men talk to God Almighty, upon their Probation; which is done too (God knows it, even at the best) not without great Imperfections, Page 11. and Failings; witness their [Affectations, Impertinency, Rudeness, ELK. BAS. Confusion, Flatness, Levity, Obscurity, vain and ridiculous Repetitions, P. 127. their senseless and oftentimes blasphemous Expressions :] which are but Helps at a Plunge, either to gain time for the recovery of their lost matter, or to stop gaps, and fill up broken Sentences. Now where's the Life and Power (as you call it) of Devotion, all this while, when the whole man is taken up (and all little enough too) about Words, and Periods; And the Ministers chief care diverted from the Saving of Souls, to the Saving of his own credit? Hence proceeds that Agreement of Tone and Emphasis, in all their Exclamations, Acted Passions, and vain Repetitions, with now and then a Groan drawn out to a most doleful length for a Parenthesis. For they are all sick of the same Disease, and these Interjections give them a little Breath, and Respite, for Recollection. Now in this loss of Sense, and Order, How is it possible for the Affections of the Congregation, to keep company with the Minister in all his Wandrings, Doubtings, and Circumlocutions? The one half of their Intention is spent in Divining (before-hand) what he drives at; and the other, in unriddling his Meaning, when he has Deliver'd it. Whereas in Set-Forms, both Minister and People are freed from these Distractions, and totally intent upon the duty of the Worship: and there is a greater Harmony, and Union of Affections, when they Pray All at the same Time, in the same Words, and for the same Thing. I might insist upon the Inconvenience of leaving Ministers at Liberty, for fear of disturbing the Publique: and tell you over and over, that in our Stinted Forms we do but joyn in the Common Privilege of Other Churches: But more then enough is spoken Already. Let me hear now what you have to say against our Ceremonies.

N. C. Whereas Kneeling is Imposed, in the Act of Receiving the Lord's Supper, We desire that none may be Troubled for Receiving it Standing, or Sitting. Proposals to his Majesty, P. 22.

C. You have quitted your Hold, I perceive, of your Scriptural direction, and President. For neither Standing, nor Sitting was the Tricliniary Posture. But why not Kneeling, as well as either Sitting, or Standing?

N.C.

Ib. p. 23.

N. C. *Because it is a Novelty; contrary to the Decrees, and Practice of the Church, for many Hundred Years after the Apostle, And it has been forbidden General Councils. And it is not Good also to shew a needless Countenance of Adoring the Bread of God.*

C. Can you shew me that *Kneeling at the Lord's Supper* has been forbidden, where *Kneeling at other parts of Publique Worship* has been *Allow'd*? Now you your selves allow of, and *Practice Kneeling in other Cases*, which is every jot as contrary to the *Ancient Custom*, as *Our Kneeling at the Sacrament*. But We must not *Kneel*, you say, for fear of *Countenancing the Adoration of the Bredden God*.

To which I Answer, that *First*, The *Doctrine* of our Church speaks directly to the *Contrary*. *Secondly*, The *Rubrick* directs *Kneeling at the Confession*; and the People continue *Kneeling*, at the *Receiving*.

N. C. *But with your Favour, the Rubrick does afresh enjoyn Kneeling: and order the Communion to be delivered into the Peoples Hands Kneeling.*

C. Right. And now take your Choice, whether we shall rather run the hazzard of being suspected to adore the *Bread*, because we receive it after the *English Gesture* of Worshipping, which is *Kneeling*; or incur the same Censure, by *Changing Posture*, and taking it after the *Ancient way* of Worshipping, which is *Standing*?

If you can make appear, that where the *Custom* was to *Worship Standing*, they *Received Kneeling*; you say something toward the perswading of us that *Worship Kneeling*, to *Receive Standing*.

Your *Exceptions throughout*, are much of a *Quality*; *Negatively Imposing* upon *Authority*, because you will not be *Positively bound up your selves*. For, *You shall Not do This, or That, is an Imposition, as well as you Shall*. Another Humour you have gotten, of *Scrupling at Ceremonies*, because they are made as *Necessary to Salvation*, as the *Word it self*, and the *Sacraments*. (This is the Suggestion of the *Petition for Peace*, Pa. 9.) Whereas it has been, and still it is the *Constant Care of the Imposers themselves*, by an expresse Solemnity of *Explanation*, to satisfy the whole World to the *Contrary*.

Give us leave only for one Word more, and that out of *Calvins Institutions*, concerning *Scandal*; (Lib. 3. Cap. 12.) which you make one part of your Complaint. There is (says he) a *Scandal Given*, and *Taken*, The One is the *Scandal of the Weak*; the Other, of

of the *Pharisees*; who out of a perverse *Malignity of Spirit*, turn every thing to the worse. There is no *Yielding* to this sort of Men; No *Enduring*, no *Hearing* of them: [*Qui quum in mille Impietatis Formas Duces se præbent, sic sibi agendum fingunt, ne proximo sint Offendiculo.* Who, under colour of *Tenderness* in the Matter of *Scandal*, make no *Conscience* at all of a *Thousand Gross Impieties*. This is *His Judgment*, and *Our Case*: And there is no *Remedy*, but by concluding upon a *Final*, and *Unaccomptable Judge*.

S E C T. XXI.

Whatsoever God hath left Indifferent, is the Subject of Humane Power.

C. **A**S Reasonable Nature consists of *Soul*, and *Body*; so is the Authority that Governs it, *Divine*, and *Humane*: God, *Eminently* over *All*, and *Princes Ministerially*, under Him, and as his *Substitutes*. The *Dominion* of our *Souls*, God reserves *Peculiarly* to *Himself*, committing That of our *Bodies* to the Care of the *Magistrate*.

Now if *Power* be a *Divine Ordinance*, so consequently is *Subjection*; for to Imagine the *One*, without the *Other*, were to destroy the *Reason of Relatives*. A strict and accurate disquisition of this Matter, would save us much *Trouble* that arises about the *Bounds* and *Limits* of our *Duty*; How far *Religion* binds us, and how far *Allegiance*. That they are severable, we are not to doubt, since *Truth itself* has said it. *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's*. But that they are only so severable, as never to become *Inconsistent*, is founded upon the same *Immovable Rock*; *Let every Soul be subject, &c.* A *Precept*, of a *Perpetual*, and *Universal Operation*, and Limited neither to *Time*, *Place*, nor *Persons*.

N. C. *Your Deduction of Government, and Subjection, from Divine Institution, is well enough; and that we are to Obey the Magistrate for God's sake, and in Subordination to God, is easily Prov'd, and Granted: But I hear nothing yet of the Particular Bounds, and Terms of Humane Jurisdiction; What 'tis belongs to God, and what to Cæsar.*

C. And That I confess is the Pinch of the Question: For *One Duty* comes up so close to the *Other*, that 'tis not for every *Common Eye*

Toleration Discuss'd.

Eye to pass between them. Effectually, they *Touch*; but in what Point, is of a *Nice Decision*. The nearest way to the Knowledge of our *Duty*, is to apply it to the *Laws*, and *Powers* of the *Authority*: for a Man must first *Know* the Rule, before he can *Observe* it. We are then to consider, that the Almighty Wisdom has Invested *Kings* with an *Unlimited Power* of *Commanding*, or *Forbidding*, in all Matters, which *God Himself* has not either *Commanded*, or *Forbidden*: Which Proposition resolves it self into this Conclusion. *Whatsoever God has left Indifferent, is the Subject of Humane Power.*

N. C. *Does not that Opinion destroy Christian Liberty?*

C. No: But the Denial of it destroys *Magistracy*. If *Kings* have not *This Power*, they have *None at all*: And it Implies a Contradiction to suppose any Authority in Nature without it.

N. C. *But may not a Prince tye himself up, in a thing otherwise Indifferent?*

C. I speak of *Power* according to the *Institution*, not of *Power* limited by *Faction*.

N. C. *May not the same thing be Indifferent to One, and not to Another?*

C. Very Good: And will not every thing Imaginable appear *Non-Indifferent* to some or other; if nothing may be *Commanded*, but what upon such a Phansie may be *Disobey'd*?

N. C. *Pardon me: I do not speak of Matters of Civil Concern, but of Matters of Religion.*

C. That's all a Case; for you cannot Instance any One *Civil Action*, that may not be made *Relative to Religion*. But we are now upon the *Extent of Humane Power*. That there is such a *Power*, and That *Authoriz'd* too by *God Himself*, you have already Granted. Let me but understand now, *Upon what Subject* shall that *Power* be Exerciz'd; If you exclude Things *Indifferent*: One Man may have a *Real Scruple*, and all the Rest, pretend one. Who shall distinguish? So that the Rule holding from *One* to *All*, the Sacred Authority of the *Prince* becomes dependent upon the Pleasure of the *Subject*; and the
Validity

Validity of a Divine, and Unchangeable Ordinance, is subjected to the mutable Judgment, and Construction of the People.

N. C. *And you expect, the Magistrate should as well have the Authority of Judging what's Indifferent, as of Restraining it.*

C. *You may be sure I do; for I am but where I was, if I make You the Judge. Is it not all one, as to the Magistrate, whether you Refuse, upon Pretence that the Thing is not Indifferent, or upon Pretense, that He cannot Restrain a thing Indifferent? The Crime indeed is differing in the Subject: for the One way, 'tis an Usurpation of Authority; and the Other way, 'tis a Denial of it.*

N. C. *Why then it seems, I am to believe every thing Indifferent, which the Magistrate tells me is so, be it never so Wicked.*

C. *No: There you are bound up, by a Superiour Law.*

N. C. *Have you so soon forgot your self? You would not allow me to be a Judge, just now; and here, you make me one.*

C. *Right. To your self, you are one but not to the Publique; you are a Judge of your own Thoughts, but not of the Law.*

N. C. *And does not This way of Arguing as much endanger Authority, as the Other? For All may Judge Thus, as well as One.*

C. *'Tis possible they may. Nay, we'l suppose an Imposition foul enough to move them all to do so; and yet there's a large difference: For Diversity of Judgment does not shake the Foundation of Authority; and a Man may disobey a Sinful Command, with great Reverence to the Power that Imposes it.*

N. C. *You were saying e'en now, that my Duty to God, and to the King, could never be Inconsistent. How shall I behave my self, I Pray'e, if the King command one thing, and God another? I cannot observe the Law, without violence to my Conscience, nor discharge my Conscience, without Offence to the Law. What Course shall I take, to avoid Enterfering?*

Toleration Discus'd.

C. Demean your self as a *Christian*, toward the *Law of God*, on the *One* hand, and as a *Subject*, toward the *Ordinance of God*, on the *Other*; As considering, that you are discharg'd of your *Obedience* in *That Particular*, but not of your *Subjection* in the *General*.

N.C. Put *Case* the *Supreme Magistrate*, should by a *Law*, *Establish* a *False Worship*.

C. He's nevertheless your *Prince*, and even in *This Complication*, you may acquit your self both to *God*, and to *Cesar*. Though the *Worship* be *amiss*, the *Magistrate* is yet to be *Reverenc'd*; and you are to divide the *One* from the *Other*; in such manner, as still both to *Fear God*, and *Honour the King*. This *Loyal*, and *Religious Separation* of our *Duties*, will set us right in the *Main Controversie*. Where do ye find that *Kings Reign*, upon *Condition* of *Ruling Righteously*? Or that we owe them *less*, *After Misgovernment*, then we did *Before*?

N.C. But do you say we are bound to *Honour an Idolatrous Prince*? This is not according to the *Doctrine* of many of our *Grave Divines*.

C. They are never the *better Divines* for that *Doctrine*. The *Prince*, I tell ye, you are bound to *Honour*, though not as an *Idolater*. Shall the *Vice*, or *Error* of the *Person*, degrade the *Order*? By that *Rule*, the world must continue without a *Government*, till we can finde *men without failings*.

N.C. So that, when it makes for your turn, you can allow (*I see*) of *distinguishing betwixt the Person, and the Office*.

C. Betwixt the *Frailty* of the *One*, and the *Sacredness* of the *Other*, I do: for *Kings Command*, as *Gods*; though they *Judge*, as *Men*. But I do no more approve of dividing the *Person* of a *Prince*, from his *Authority*, then of dividing his *Soul* from his *Body*.

N.C. And I beseech you, what is that, which you call *Authority*?

C. It is the *Will*, and *Power* of a *Multitude*, deliver'd up by *common consent*, to some *one Person*, or more, for the *good* and *safety* of the *whole*: And this *Representative* acts for *All*. Now on the other side, the disposition of such or such a *Number of Persons*, into an *Order of Commanding and Obeying*, is that which we call a *Society*.

N.C.

N.C. *What is the Duty of the Civil Magistrate?*

C. *To procure the welfare of the People; or, according to the Apostle, He is the Minister of God, for a comfort to those that do well, and for a terrour to evil-doers.*

N.C. *How far are his Laws binding upon his Subjects?*

C. *So far as they that Parted with their Power, had a Right over Themselves.*

N.C. *Whence was the Original of Power? and what Form of Government was first; Regal, or Popular?*

C. *Power was Ordain'd of God, but Specifi'd by Man: And beyond doubt, the First Form of Government was Monarchique.*

N. C. *But I should rather think the Popular Form was First: For how could there be a King without a People?*

C. *So was the Son before the Father, you may say, for How could there be a Father without a Son? But the Question is; First: Was the World ever without a Government, since the Creation of Man? Secondly; whether was there first in the World, One Man, or More? But we are not here upon the Form of Government, but upon the Latitude of Humane Jurisdiction; be the Sovereignty where it will. And my Assertion is, that It extends to whatsoever God has left Indifferent. If you deny this, you overthrow all Government.*

N. C. *And what are you the better, If I should grant it; unless we could All come to an Agreement, about what is Indifferent, and what not.*

C. *Which must be procured by the allowance of some Judicial Authority to decide it.*

SECT. XXII.

No End of Controversie, without a Final and Unaccomptable Judge, from whose Sentence there shall be no Appeal.

C. **W**hen Subjects come once to dispute Laws, The War is already Declar'd against the Government. For it is not the

the *Equity* or *Iniquity* of the *Matter* of the *Law*, that is the *Question*; but the *Authority* of the *Law-Maker*; under the countenance indeed of somewhat that might be mended in the *Law* itself. And the *Business* comes Immediately to *This Issue*; Whether the *King*, or the *People*, shall *Determine*, in what concerns the *Good* of the *Community*? That is to say; whether the *Government* shall *Stand*, or *Fall*? whether or no we shall submit our selves quietly to be over-ruled in all *Controversies*, by a *Definitive Sentence* of *Law*; (according to the *End*, and *Intention* of *Government*, in its first *Institution*) Or otherwise, by receding from that *Common*, *Peaceable*, and *Impartial Arbitrator* of all our *Differences*; from our *Faith* given; our *Oaths*, and *Contracts*: throw our selves back again into a state of *Nature*, and *Dissolution*; and for want of a *Moderator*, leave all our *Disagreements* to be decided by the *Sword*? (The certain Event of all *Popular Appeals*, from *Laws*, to *Multitudes*).

This was the Ruine of us, in our Late Confusions. The *Faction*, you saw, could do nothing, upon the Suggestions of *Right*, or *Wrong*; *Convenience*, or *Inconvenience*; till they came to make *Themselves* the *Judges* of it: And no sooner were they possess'd of *That Pretention*, but all went presently head-long to Destruction. From Questioning the *Legal Power* of the *King*, they proceeded to the Exercise of an *Arbitrary Power*, *Themselves*: From *Asserting* the *Subjects Liberties*, to the *Invasion* of them: And from the *Reformation* of *Abuses*, to the *Extirpation* of the *Government*. The *Two Houses* led the *Dance*, and *owned* the *King*; The *Commons* did as much for the *Lords*; and the *People*, as much for the *Commons*: Which comes to no more, then what was reasonably to be expected, upon turning the *Course* of *Publique Affairs* into a wrong *Channel*; and subjecting the *Indisputable Rights* of *Sovereign Authority*, to the *Censures*, and *Expostulations* of the *Rabble*.

N.C. What are those *Indisputable Rights*, I beseech ye?

C. I reckon (among others) The *Power* of *Making Laws*; and likewise of *Enforcing* the *Execution* of them; without admitting any sort of *Demur*, or *Contradiction*: for let the *People* break in once upon any *One Law*, and they will hardly quit their hold, till they have worm'd out, or *unsettled* all the *Rest*. In short; I do esteem it a matter of *Absolute Necessity*, to the *Peace*, and the very *Being* of all *Government*, to have some *Unaccomptable Judge*; some *Unquestionable Expedient* of *Law*, or *Authority*, for the Binding of *Controversies*:

versies: The Determination to be Final, and Decisive: No Appealing from it, and no contending beyond it.

N. C. *What not in Case of Errour? I could be well enough content with a Judge; and with Indisputable Laws, if you could but assure me of Infallible Law-Makers. But I should be sorry to see a Roman-Infallibility set up in England.*

C. So that rather than a *Fallible Judge*, you will have *None at all*. You could be content with a *Judge*, you say, but then *That Judge* must be *Questionable*, in Case of *Errour*; so that *Another Judge* is to Judge *Him*; and the very *Judge of This Judge*, is *Himself Questionable*; and so is *his Judge*, and his *Judges Judge*; (in *Infinitem*) in Case of *Errour*: Which Case of *Errour* may be Alledg'd, wheresoever there is no *Infallibility*; and if there be no *Infallibility* in Nature, then by your Rule, there can be no *judge* in Nature.

N. C. *I do not say but a Man may Judge Certainly in some Cases, though not Infallibly in All: and all I ask, is only a Free Exercise of my Judgment at Discretion, without being ty'd up to an Implicit Resignation. There is but a Right, and a Wrong: and the One I must Embrace, and Reject the Other. How shall I know This from That, without Enquiry? And what am I the better for That Enquiry, if when I have Learn'd my Duty, I am debarr'd the Liberty to Practise it.*

C. You turn the Question, from the *Necessity* of a Judge, to his *Infallibility*. 'Tis all one to me, whether you make him *Infallible*, or *Credible*, or what you make him, or where you place him; provided that he be Acknowledg'd *Necessary*, and *Unaccomptable*. That He is *Necessary*, I presume you will easily afford me: for there can be no *Peace* without him, every Man being at Liberty to *Wrangle*, where no man is authoris'd to take up the *Strife*. But would you have him *Unaccomptable*, or no?

N. C. *What greater Encouragement is there in the World, to Tyranny, then the Opinion of an Unaccomptable Sovereignty?*

C. What is it rather (you should have said) that *Excites Sedition*, and *Depopulates Kingdoms*, so much as the *Contrary*? And doubtless, the *Fiercest Tyranny* is much more supportable, then the *Mildest Rebellion*.

N.C.

Toleration Discuss'd.

N. C. Truly, as to the Convenience of a Definitive Sentence, I should be glad to see it; without the Hazzard of a Definitive Injustice.

C. You mistake your self, if you oppose a Possible Injury on the One side, to a Certain Wrangle, and Confusion on the Other. If Infallibility you cannot find, why may not the fairest Probability content you?

N. C. But would you have that Probability govern by Unquestionable, and Authoritative Conclusions?

C. By any means; you do nothing else: For where Controversies are Inevitable, and Concord (if it may be had) Necessary; What can be more Reasonable, then to chuse the most Competent Judge of the Matter in Controversie, for the Concluding Umpire of the Controversie it self?

N. C. But a Man may Judge Probably in One Case, and Improbably in Another: Suppose the Determination to be manifest Errour, or Injustice; would you have the same Submission paid to it, as if it were Equity, and Truth.

C. Yes: To the Determination, though not to the Errour: You are to stand to the Authority of the Sentence, without Contesting the Equity of it: for Right or Wrong, 'tis a Decision. The Principal Scope, and sure End of a Reference, is Peace: The Hopeful Event, and Issue of it, is Righteous Judgment. Is it not well then, to be sure of the One, and in so fair a Likelihood of the Other? Put it to the worst; You are not bound to be of the Judge his Opinion, but to be overrul'd by his Authority: Neither do you undertake that he shall Judge Critically, as to the Subject of the Question; but that he shall Judge Effectually, as to the purpose of the Reference.

N. C. This Resignation may do well, in Cases of Civil Interest: but it will hardly hold in Matters of Conscience. Who shall pretend to Judge of my Conscience, beside God and my Self?

C. The Scripture, which is the Rule of all Consciences, shall be the Judge of Yours. But the Question is not, What the Conscience Is, but what it Ought to be: Not what your Private Judgment says, but what the Scripture means; and the Thing I strive for, is a Judge of
That:

Toleration Discuss'd.

III

That: A Judge of the Rule of Faith; which I take to be all out as necessary, as a Judge of a Political Law.

You cannot but allow, that there are Diversities of Opinions, as well in Religion, as concerning *Secular Affairs*: And such is our Corruption, that we draw Poyson, even from the Fountain of Life; and the Word of God it self, is made the *Warrant* of all Crimes, and the Foundation of all Heresies.

Look behind ye, and you may see a *Prince Murther'd* by his Subjects: *Authority Beheaded* by a Pretended Law, and all this Defended by a Text. The Church Devour'd by a Divided Ministry; The Government overturn'd by a Solemn League and Covenant to support it: An Arbitrary Power Introduc'd by the Patrons of Liberty: The Lords Prayer Cashier'd, to make way for the Motions of the Holy Ghost; and Charity it self Extinguish'd for the Advancement of the Gospel. We have liv'd to see as many Heresies, as Congregations; and a Confistorian Scrutiny, prest beyond the Rigour of a Spanish Inquisition.

We have seen *somewhat* (a) *abhor Idols, committing Sacrilege.* Corist's (a) Rom. 2 Kingdom cry'd up, till his (b) *Divinity is Deny'd.* Strictness of Life ^{22.} Inculcated, till the very Rule of it (c) (The Decalogue it self) is Re- (b) By the Familists, jected: And Blasphemy hunted out of the Tavern, into the Pulpit. (c) By the Aninom.

In fine; What Sin, and Misery have we not known, and felt, since under the Form of *Liberty of Conscience*, This Freedom of a Private Spirit came in vogue? Nor are we ever to expect better from it, till all Men shall conspire to do the same thing, where every Man is left to his Own Gust, to do what he pleases. And whence flows all this Mischief, and Confusion, but from a License of Wandring from the Rule? Methinks These Practises shoud put you, and your Cause out of Countenance.

N. C. *I am no Advocate for Anarchy, though no Friend to Uniformity: And I know 'tis with Non-Conformists, as with other People; there are Good and Bad of All sorts. But to go with the Moderate: Would you have All Mens Consciences Govern'd by the same Rule?*

C. Better Particulars suffer for Incompliance with the Publique, then the Publique suffer for Complying with Particulars. Uniformity is the Ciment of both Christian, and Civil Societies: Take That away, and the Parts drop from the Body; One Piece falls from Another.

The Magistrate (for Orders sake) requires Uniformity; You, and our Associates oppose it, upon a Plea of Conscience. The Question is;

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is; Whether *He* shall Over-rule *your* Opinions, or *You* Over-rule *His* Authority? This Dispute begets a *War*, for want of a *Judge*; and to prevent that Consequence, I offer that a *Judge* is *Necessary*. Or put it Thus: *You*, and *I* differ; and possibly we are *Both* in the *Wrong*; but most certainly we are *not Both* in the *Right*; and yet neither of us but thinks well enough of his own Opinion. What's to be done in this Case? Shall we Wrangle Eternally?

N. C. No, We'll rather put the *Matter* to Arbitration.

C. Well; but the *Arbiter* himself is *Fallible*; and may mistake too: Or let him have the Wisdom of an Angel, he cannot please us *Both*: For that which seems *Right* to the *One*, will appear *Wrong* to the *Other*. Shall we stand to his *Award* whatever it be? If not, take into your Thought these Consequences. *You* refuse to submit, because it is *Wrong*; and *I* may refuse, by the same Reason, though it be *Right*: (For *Every Man's Reason* is of *Equal Force*, where there is no *Common*, and *Representative Reason* to Bind *All*.) So that by your Reckoning, every Man is in the *Right* to *Himself*, and in the *Wrong* to *all the World* besides: (for I perswade my self, that Nature never produc'd two Persons, in all Points, of the same Judgment.)

Now, if you can neither deny *Confusion* to be the *Natural Effect* of this *Liberty of Judgment*; nor the want of a *Regulating*, and *Decretory Sentence*, to be the *Cause* of this *Confusion*, I hope you'll grant me the *Necessity* of an *Unaccountable Judge*.

N. C. Is not the *Word of God* a *Sufficient Judge*?

Chilling-
worths
Safe Way,
P 57

C. No: That's no *Judge*, but [a *Rule for Christians* to *Judge By*] and the great Danger lies upon the *Meaning* of That *Rule*. Witness those *Swarms of Heresies*, that have over-spread this Land, since the Bible has been deliver'd up to the Interpretation of *Private Spirits*.

N. C. You say well, if you could direct me to a *Judge* that we might all rely upon.

C. And you say something too, if you could make appear, that *None at all* is better then the *Best we have*: Or that *Popular Errors*, *Numberless*, and *Inevitable*, (with the *Dissolution* of *Societies* to boot) are to be preferr'd to the *Few*, and only *Possible Failings* of *Authority*, attended

attended however with *Peace*, and *Agreement*. The Question Briefly, is This. Whether will you rather have; *One Fallible Judge*, or a *Million of Damnable Heresies*?

N. C. Truly as you have reduc'd it, to a *Certainty of Peace* the One way, and to as great a *Certainty of Discord*, the Other; to a *Certainty of Many Errours*, without a *Judge*, and to a bare Possibility of some Few with One: I think a *Final Judge* may be Convenient. if not Necessary.

C. If you find it so in the *Church*, sure you will not *Dispute* it in the *State*; especially against an *Experience* too, the most forceable of all Reasons. We were never troubled with *Constructive Necessities*; with *Cavils* about the *Receptacle of Power*, and the *Limits of Obedience*: With *Distinctions* betwixt the *Political*, and the *Natural Right* of the *People*; the *Legal*, and the *Personal Will* of the *Prince*; and betwixt the *Equity* and the *Letter* of the *Law*: till Judgment was forced from its proper Course, and the *Decision of Political Controversies*, committed to the frivolous, and tumultuary arbitrations of the *People*.

N. C. Nay, I am as much for a *Judge* as You; but not for One Judge to All Purposes: Nor indeed, for any Judge so *Absolute* as you would have him.

C. I tell ye again, A *Judge*, and no *Absolute Judge*, is No Judge: and you shall as soon find the End of a *Circle*, as of a *Controversie*, by such a *Judge*. Nor is it my Intention, that One Judge should serve for All Purposes.

N. C. Divide your Matter then, and assign to every Judicable Point its Proper Judge.

C. You have Reason; for truly I do not take the *Magistrate* to be any more a Judge of My Conscience, then I am of His.

N. C. No doubt of it; And it were an *Encroachment* upon the *Prerogative of God Himself*, for the *Magistrate* to Challenge it.

C. How comes it now, that we, that accord so well in the End, should differ so much in the Way to't? But I hope the Clearing of the next Point will set all Right: for after the Acknowledgment

of the *General Necessity* of a Judge, we have nothing further to do, but to agree upon the Judge, and so submit.

SECT. XXIII.

The Three Great Judges of Mankind, are God, Magistrates, and Conscience.

Some Things we do as *Men*; Other Things as *Men in Society*; and Some again as *Christians*. In the first place, We are acted by the Law of *Individuals*; which Law, in the Second place, is Subjected to that of *Government*; And Both these Laws are, in the Third place, Subordinate to That of *Religion*; i. e. *The Law of God's Revealed will*. So that the *Three Great Judges of Mankind* are God, Magistrates, and Conscience.

Man as Consisting of *Soul*, and *Body*, may be again Subdivided within *Himself*. Take Him in his *Lower Capacity*, and He is sway'd by the *General Law of Animal Nature*, But in his *Divine* part, you will find Him Govern'd by the Nobler Law of *Refined Reason*; which Reason, in some Cases, we call *Prudence*, and in others *Conscience*, according as it is Variouslly exercised.

The Things which we do purely as *Men* (Abstracted from any Ingredients of *Policy*, or *Regulated Religion*) are either *Natural Actions*, *Prudential*, or *Moral*. Of the first sort, are Those Actions to which we are prompted by a *Natural Impulse* in order to the Conservation of *Life*, and *Being*. Of the third sort, are such Actions as we perform in Obedience to *Moral Principles*, (Which are no other, then the *Divine Will*, as it is couched under the Dictate of *Humane Reason*) And Betwixt These Two, lies the Region of *Middle Actions*: That is, of Such Actions, as although not of *simple*, and *strict Necessity*, either to *Life*, or *Virtue*, are notwithstanding *Useful*, and *Convenient*, for the *Guidance*, and *Comfort* of the *One*, and for the *Practise* of the *Other*. The accurat Disquisition of This Interest clears the Main Difficulty of the Question; for nothing has embroyl'd us more, then the *Mistaken Rights*, and *Priviledges* of *Individuals*: Which Mistakes being once made manifest, by laying open the Subordination of several *Claims*, and *Powers*, every Man may take a distinct View of his own Province.

N. C. If you will proceed Regularly, you are to State these Subordinations as you go.

C. Agreed;

C. Agreed; and we are now upon the *Right of Individuals*: In which naked Simplicity of Considering *Man*, without any regard of the Ordinary Motions of *Providence*, in the *Order*, and *Regiment* of the *World*, we shall yet find a *Natural Subordination* within *Himself*, and the Law of *Sense*, under the Dominion of the Law of *Reason*, in the *same Subject*. These are the *Laws* which the Apostle calls the Law of his *Members*, and the Law of his *Will*. The *Former Law* (and the less Excellent) is the Law *Sensitive*; which is no other, then the Law of *Self-Preservation*. (The *Supream Law* of *Animal Beings*, as it is of *Rationals* the *Lowest*) This Law *Sensitive*, is no other than the Manifestation of *God* in the *Creature*: for what *Sense* does, *Nature* does; and what *Nature* does, *God* does.

N. C. But what is That Power all this while, which you call *Nature*?

C. It is the Ordinary Working of *God* in all his *Creatures*: by *Virtue* of which *Divine Impression*, and *Influence*, Every thing is moved to seek the *Utmost Perfection* whereof it is *Capable*. As for the *Purpose*; The *Perfection* of *Man* is the *Congruity* of his *Actions* with his *Reason*; which we call *Virtue*. The *Perfection* of *Beasts* lies a degree lower: For they are only mov'd by a *Sensual Impulse*, towards what is *Convenient* for them; and when they have it, They *Rest*.

N. C. When People are gravell'd, they fly to their *Impulses*, and *Occult Qualities*. Where lies the *Difference*, I beseech you, between Their *Impulse*, and Our *Choice*?

C. Their *Impulse* carries them on through a *Sensitive Search*, not any *Deliberative Discourse*; And there is no *Election* neither at last: But only the *Simple Prosecution* of a *Determinate Appetite*, without imagining any *Proportion* betwixt the *Means*, and the *End*.

N. C. But still we find, that there is a *Proportion*: and the *Motion* appears to us according to the *Method* of *Reason*: and a very *Orderly Proceeding* from a *Question*, to a *Resolution*.

C. Is it *Reason*, think ye, that makes a *Dog* follow his *Nose*, and Hunt for *Meat*, when he is *Hungry*? Or will you call it *Choice*, if he leaves a *Turf* for a *Bone*? Now if you ask how this comes about: He is guided by *Instinct* toward the *End*; and *Sense* carries him through the *Means*.

N. C. *But why should the same Process of Means, and the same Application of Causes, be ascribed only to Instinct, in Brutes, and to Reason, in Man?*

C. You are to take notice, that all *Natural Operations* are *Regular*, and *Ordinate*, by what Means soever performed: But it does not follow, because the *Method* is according to *Reason*, that therefore the *Instrument* must be *Reasonable*. But to mind what we are upon.

The Law of *Self-Preservation*, is a Law common to *Beasts* with *Men*; but not of *Equal Force*, and *Obligation*: for *Their Sovereign Interest* is *Life*; *Ours* is *Virtue*: And therefore your late Argument for *Defensive Arms*, under Pretence of that Extremity, was but a *Brutish Plea*: For if the Consideration of *Virtue* be not above that of *Life*, Where lies the *Advantage* of Our *Reason*?

N. C. *But when the Death is certain, and the Virtue doubtful, Who shall decide the Point?*

C. In a Case abstracted from the *Ties*, and *Duties* of *Religion*, and *Government*, every *Man's Reason* sits as *Judge upon his own Life*. As for Instance; You are in the Hands of *Thieves*, and only this Choice offer'd you, either to take a *False Oath*, or to lose your *Life*. Your *Conscience* tells you, that you must rather *Perish*, then *Forswear* your self, without Violence to a *Superiour Duty*, you are your own *Murderer* if you do not. Thus far I think we are safe, and I suppose agreed, that every *Individual* is to *Govern himself by his Natural Conscience*. But when the several *Particulars* come to be bundled up in one *Community*, the Case is otherwise.

N. C. *I am sorry to hear you say That.. Why should not every Man be Govern'd by his own Conscience, as well in Consort, as in Solitude, as well in Company, as by Himself? Or will you have it, that our Duty to God ceases in the Act of becoming Subjects to a Civil Power?*

C. As to your *Conscience*, you are as free now, as you were before: But your *Body* is no longer your *Own*, after you are once enrolled a Member of a *Society*. And here's the Difference; You were your own *Servant* before, and now you are the *King's*. (For what is *Government*, but the *Wisdom*, *Relolve*, and *Force* of every *Particular*, gather'd into One *Understanding*, *Will*, and *Body*?) And This comes up to what I have already Deliver'd, that, *Whatsoever God has left Indifferent, is the Subject of Humane Power*.

N.C.

Toleration Discuss'd.

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N. C. But who shall be Judge of what's Indifferent ?

C. Let That be Examined the very next Thing we do.

You are already satisfied, that an *Authorized Judge* is absolutely *Necessary*, in Order to the *Peace of Church, and State*, and to the Ending of all Publick differences : But we are not yet resolv'd about Our *Judges* ; Or if we were, yet in regard they are but *Men*, and so may *Erre*, [*Infallibility being departed with Christ and his Apostles : in lieu of which Living, and Infallible Guides, God has in Providence given us a Plain, and Infallible Rule*] We are now to make Enquiry, how far a *Private Judge* may be allow'd to Oppose, or differ from a *Publick*, in Case of a *Reluctant Conscience*, and in some sort to *Judge his Judge* ?

Chillingworth's
Safe way,
p. 104.

N. C. You say very well ; For place the Ultimate Decision where you will, It is (as you said before) an *Infallible determination as to the Strife* ; but Not so, as to the *Truth* ; and comes at last to This, that every Man (in some Degree) re-judges his Judge. If I be fully convinc'd, either, that the Command is *Sinful in it-self*, or the Opinion *Wicked* ; I am neither to Obey the One, nor to Embrace the Other ; as being tied up by a *General Obligation of rather Obeying, and Believing God, then Man*. Nay more ; If in *Obedience to the Magistrate*, I commit a *Sin against God*, and do it ignorantly too, That very *Act in Ignorance is Criminal* : (If I had the Means of being better inform'd :) For No *Humane Respect* can justify an Offence against God. Now if I am bound to do *Nothing that is Ill* ; I am likewise bound, before I do any thing, to satisfy my self, whether it be *Ill, or No* : For otherwise, I may follow a *False Religion for a True*, and be *Damned in the End*, for not minding what I did. This do I take for *Proof sufficient*, that no Man is so *Implicitly Obliged* to rely upon other Men's Eyes, as totally to *Abandon the Direction of his own* ; Or so *unconditionally to swear Obedience to other Mens Laws, and Perswasions*, as to hold no *Intelligence at all with that Sacred Law, and Faithfull Counsellor which he carries in his own Bosom*.

C. I am so far from advising you to renounce your Reason, that, on the contrary, I would have you absolutely guided, and concluded by it ; and only to Obey for *Quiet sake*, so far as you can possibly Obey in *Conscience*.

N. C. What if a Single Person hit that Truth, which a General Council misses ? Which will you have him follow ; Truth or Authority ?

C. I

Toleration Discuss'd.

C. I would have him follow *Truth* with his *Soul*, and *Authority* with his *Body*. But it is not for so remote a Possibility as This is, to bring the *Fancies* and *Imaginations* of a *Private Spirit* into a Competition with *Resolutions* of *Law*, And yet for the *Possibility* sake, We'll take the very *Supposition* likewise into Consideration, and Word the whole Matter as plainly as we can.

The *Church* says, Ye *may* Do; And the *Law* says, You *must* Do, That which your *Conscience* says, You ought *not* to Do. How will you reconcile your *Duty*, and your *Conscience* in This Case?

N. C. *Very well: For I think it my Duty to Obey my Conscience, upon This Principle, That Conscience is God's Substitute over Individuals.*

C. Keep to That, and Answer me once again; *Is not the Civil Magistrate God's Substitute too?* If He be, How comes your *Conscience* to take place of his *Authority*? They are *Both Commission'd alike*, and consequently, *Both to be Obey'd alike*: Which is *Impossible*, where their *Commands* are *Inconsistent*.

N. C. *The Magistrate is a Publique Minister, and his Commission does not reach to Particular Consciences.*

C. And on the Other side, *You are a Private Person*, and there is as little Reason for your *Opinion* to Operate upon a *Publique Law*. So that if I mistake you not, we are upon accord thus far; That *every Particular* is to look to *One*, and the *King* to the *Whole*.

Now if you would deal as Candidly with me, about the *Ecclesiastical Power* as you have done in the *Civil*, we might make short work of This Question. I hope you will not deny that the *Church* is as well (a) *Authorized to Teach, and Instruct in all the External Acts of Worship, as (b) the Magistrate is to Compel to Those External Acts.*

(a) *Rutherford's Due Rights of Presbyt.*

P 356.

(b) *Ibid.*

P. 352.

(c) *Ibid.*

P 407.

(d) *Ibid.*

P 415.

N. C. *There is no Doubt, (c) The Church (as the Church) has a Ministerial Power (Ex Officio) to Define Controversies, according to the Word of God; And that (d) A Synod Lawfully Convinc'd, is a Limited, Ministerial, and Bounded Visible Judge, and to be believed in, so far as they follow Christ, the Peremptory and Supreme Judge, speaking in his own Word.*

C. This

C. This will not do our Business yet; for to say, that a *Synod* is to be believed in, So Far as it follows *Christ*, seems to make Those the Judges of That Act, that are to be Concluded by it; and leaves the Credit of the Authority, dependent upon the Conscience, Fancy, or Humour of the Believer. For 'tis but any Man's saying, that the *Synod* does not follow *Christ*, and that he trusts in it so far as it does follow Him. And this is enough to keep the Controversie afoot, without any hope of Decision.

N. C. We are indeed to believe Truths determined by *Synods*, *Rutherford*, to be Infallible, and never again liable to Retraction, or Discussion; *Free Disp.* Not because [*so says the Synod,*] but because [*so says the Lord.*] *p. 36.*

C. Still you are short; for 'tis not in our Power to disbelieve what we acknowledge to be a Truth: But that which is Truth at the Fountain, may be Corrupted in the Passage; Or at least appear so to Me, and What then?

N. C. It must be look't upon as an Errour of the Conscience; which is no Discharge at all of your Obedience: From which Errour you are to be reclaimed, either by Instruction, or Censure. For the People *ib. p. 27.* are obliged to Obey Those that are over Them in the Lord, who Watch for their Souls, as those who must give an Accompt;] And not oblig'd to stand to, and obey the Ministerial and Official Judgment of the People. He that Heareth You (Ministers of the Gospel, not the People) Heareth Me; And he that despiseth You, Despiseth Me.

C. Why should not We Two shake Hands now, and Joyn in the Act for Uniformity? You cannot say, that it wants any thing of the full Complement of a Binding Law; Either in regard of the Civil, or of the Ecclesiastical Authority. Here is first, the Judgment of the Church duly convinc'd, touching the Meetness, and Conveniency of the Rites, and Forms therein contained. You have next, the Royal Sanction, Approving, and Authorizing Those Rites, and Forms; and Requiring your Exact Obedience to them. Now so it is, that you can neither Decline the Authority of your Judges, nor the Acknowledgment of your Duties; What is it then that hinders your Obedience?

N. C. That which to Ade is more than all the World, It goes against my Conscience.

C. Only

Toleration Discuss'd.

C. Only That Point then, and we have done with This Subject.

We have already concluded, that *God* is the *Judge* of the *World*; That the *Church* is the *Judge* of what properly concerns *Religion*; That the *Civil Magistrate* is *Judge* of what belongs to *Publique Order*, and *Peace*; and That every *Man's Conscience* is the *Judge* of what concerns his own *Soul*. The Remaining Difficulty is This; *How I am to behave myself in a Case, where the Law bids me do One Thing, and my Conscience Another.*

To take a True Estimate of This Matter, We are first to Ballance the Two Interests, that meet in Competition; The *One*, for the *Law*, and the *Other*, against it.

There is, in *Favour*, and for the *Execution* of the *Law* (meaning That of *Uniformity*) 1. The *Personal Conscience*, and 2. The *Political Conscience* of the *King*. There is moreover, for the *Equity* of it, the Solemn and Deliberate *Judgment* of the *Church*; which is, effectually, the *Publique Conscience*; and lastly, for the *Observance* of it, There is the *Duty* of the *Subject*, which, if it be *withdrawn*, does not only Invalidate This *Particular Act*, but it loosens the *Sinews* of *Sovereign Authority*; and which is more, it destroys even a *Divine Ordinance*; For take away *Obedience*, and *Government* lapses into *Confusion*.

Now for the *Counterpoise*; Against This *Law*, and This Supported; appears your *Naked Conscience*. Nay, That's the *Fairest* on't; It may be *worse*, and in Truth, anything that's *Ill*, under That *Name*.

N. C. But what's the *World* to Me, in the *Scale* against my *Soul*?

C. You have great Reason sure, and 'tis no more then every *Man* may challenge: That is, to *Stand*, or *Fall*, to his own *Conscience*: Is that your *Principle*?

N. C. Yes, out of *Doubt*; 'tis *Mine*, and *Yours*, and any *Man's* that's *Honest*.

C. Well; Hold yea little; Your *Conscience* will not down with This *Law*; and This *Law* will as little down with your *Conscience*. Weigh now the *Good* against the *Bad*; What if it *stands*? What if it *yields*? Make the *Case* worse then it is; as *Bad* as *Bad* may be, in your own *Favour*. You cannot comply with the *Law*; And the *Law* will not *sleep* to You. What follows upon it?

N.C.

N. C. *The Ruine of many Godly People, that desire to Worship God, according to his Word.*

C. That Plea will do little upon You from Us; but let that pass. What sort of Ruine do you mean? Ruine of Liberty, or Estate? (For this Law draws no Blood) State your Misfortunes, I beseech ye.

N. C. *No Man must Hold a Benefice or Teach a School, but upon Terms of such Subscription, or Acknowledgment, as many an honest Man would rather Die then Consent to: So that We are Distrest, not only for Our Selves, as being deprived of the Comfort of all Spiritual, and Heavenly Freedoms: But Our poor Infants are exposed to be Undone, wanting the Means of a Religious Education.*

C. If This be All, never Trouble your selves; for many an honest Man has out-liv'd more then this comes to. In short; There's a huge Clamour; but (God knows) with little Reason. Some Particulars will possibly suffer for want of a Toleration: and who are They; but the Profest Opposers of the Law? And on the Other side, All the Friends of the Government will suffer by it.

If you would see the Event of Granting what you ask, Turn but your Face toward—41, and then Blush, and Repent. Besides; You're not aware, that in Contesting with the Law, you Quarrel with your self: There's Your own Vote against You; and all this Muttering, is no other then your Faction's Will, wrangling with your Political Consent. And yet I say, Stick to your Conscience: Let us now put the Case of a Real Distance, betwixt This Act, and your Conscience. How will you divide your Duty?

N. C. *I'll follow your Advice, and stick to my Conscience.*

C. Now change Hands, and make your self the Supreme Magistrate. He has a Double Conscience; One that concerns Himself, the Other, his People.

What his Majesties Personal Judgment is, has been Declared Abundantly; What his Prudential Judgment may dispose Him to, lies in His Royal Breast. But be That as Heaven shall Order it. Here's the Partition of your Rights: The King's Prerogative has nothing to do with your Conscience; and your Conscience has as little to do with His Majesties Prerogative. The King is Accomptable to God for the Welfare of his People; and You are only Accomptable to God for

the Good of your little *Particular*. If You cannot Obey the Law, Do not: But abide the *Penalty*. If the *Sovereign* cannot Relax the Law, He's as Free to *Execute* it. Your *Conscience* requires *Liberty*, and your *Governour's* *Conscience* requires *Order*. Now why you should expect, that your *Sovereign* should bring down *His* *Conscience* to *Yours*, when you find upon Experiment, that you cannot perswade your *Own* to come up to *His*, is to me a *Mystry*. To Conclude, Keep your self, within your *Sphere*; and where you cannot *Consent*, as a *Christian*, *Submit*, as a *Subject*; that We may at last hope for some *Respite* from the *Calamities* of *Sedition*, and *Schism*.

N.C. And why not *Scandal*, and *Profaneness* too? For the *Edge* of your *Severity* might be directed to much better *Purpose* That way.

SECT. XXIV.

The Church of *England* charges the *Non-Conformists* with *Schism*, and the *Non-Conformists* charge those of the Church with *Scandal*. The *Matter* is taken into *Debate*.

N.C. YOUR Position is, That no *Toleration* is to be admitted, to the *hazzard* of *Religion*, *Good Life*, and *Government*. Keep to That *Standard*, and you will find that the *Conformists* have as little *Pretense* to a *Toleration* as their *Neighbours*: and that the *Notorious* *Scandal* on the one side, outweighs the *Objected* *Schism* on the other.

Scobels
Acts, par. 2
p. 340.

C. This will scarce hold, if you come to be Try'd by your own *Laws*: which make it a *Matter* of *Scandal*, by *Writing*, *Preaching*, or otherwise, to publish a *Disaffection* to the *Present Government*. But *Explain* your self.

N.C. By *Scandal*, I mean *Habitual* *Prophaneness*, *Sensuality*, *Dissolution* of *Manners*, &c. As by *Schism*, I suppose you intend our *Incompliances* with your *Church Discipline*. Weigh These Two now; One against the Other, and do you your self hold the *Balance*. Set up your *Tavern-Clubs* against our *Conventicles*; Oppose your *Combinations* against *God Himself*, to our *Plots* against the *Government*. For you must not take it ill, if I tell ye, that *Atheism* is become the *Sport*, and *Salt* of your most *Celebrated* *Entertainments*. And when you have dash'd the *Bible* out of *Countenance*, with the *Story* of the *Three Grand* *Imposturs*,

Toleration Discuss'd.

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Imposturs, or some such Lashing Piece of Drollery, The Questioning of God's Over-ruling Wisdom, by Solemn Arguments, and the Placing of Fortune in the Throne of Providence is that which commonly Crowns your Conversations.

C. You should not charge *Personal Crimes* upon a *Party*, unless you can prove them to be rationally consequent to the *Tenets*, and *Actings* of *That Party*. Now if you can shew me any *Affinity* betwixt our *Principles*, and *These Impieties*, you say something: But if you cannot, The Dust of your Argument puts out your own Eyes. I do not wonder, I must confess, to see a Nation Over-run with *Athiesm*, that has been so many Years under your Tuition: or to find the *Brat* of a *Conventicle* laid at the *Church-Door*.

N. C. May not We charge *Personal Extravagancies* upon your *Party* as well as You do upon Ours?

C. Yes: If you can prove the same Agreement against Us, betwixt the *Faults* of the *One*, and the *Principles* of the *Other*, which we are able to justify against You.

The *Episcopal Party*, you know, stood for the *King*; and it is undeniable, that the *King*, and *Church* had the same *Cause* and *Fate*. It is as unquestionable on the *other* side, that the *Non-Conformists* destroy'd both the *One*, and the *Other*: Not by Accident neither, but by a *Form'd*, and *Excogitated Design*, wrap'd up, and couch'd in the very *Mystery*, and *Foundation* of the *Schism*; Your *Separation* from a *Communion* with the *Church*, resolving naturally into a *Combination* against the Entire Frame of the *Government*; till in the End, by the help of a *Painful*, and *Well-affected Ministry*, the *Generality* of the *People* were *Preach'd* into this Division, [i. e.] *Those that could not reach the Cheat, were taught to scruple at Every Thing; and Those that went along with it, to make a Conscience of Nothing.* And this is it, that has brought us to be so Pester'd with *Enthusiasts* and *Athiests*.

N. C. But let me tell ye again, the *Athiests* are of the *Other Party*.

C. And let me enform you too, that your *Proceedings* have made *Athiests*, more ways then One.

First, The meer *Quality* of your *Cause* has made *Athiesm* the *Interest* of a great many of your *Partakers*; who, to put off the Thought of a *Divine Vengeance* attending them, if there be a *God*, Endeavour

(for their own Quiet) to perswade themselves that there is no God at all.

Secondly: The Work has been carried on under the Masque of *Holiness*: and the most *Desperate Atheist* is nothing else but a *Crust-ed Hypocrite*. I speak of your *Religious Atheist*, who has This Odds of the *Prophane*, and *Scoffing Wretch*, that he abuses God to his *Face*, and in his own *House*. The Great *Atheists*, indeed are *Hypocrites* (says Sir Francis Bacon) which are ever handling Holy Things, but without Feeling; so as they must needs be *Cauteriz'd* in the End.

Essay of
Atheism

It is Remarquable (as I have elsewhere recommended to your Observation) that in the Holy Scripture there are not so many Woes pronounced, nor so many Cautions Inculcated against any sort of People, as against *Hypocrites*. You shall there find that God has given the Grace of *Repentance* to *Persecutors*, *Idolaters*, *Murderers*, *Adulterers* &c. But I am mistaken if the whole Bible yields any one Instance of a *Converted Hypocrite*.

Thirdly, You have done more in your *Practises*, toward the *Vindication* of *Atheism*, then all that ever went before ye: and he that overlooks our Story, from 1640, to 1660, will find matter, not only to stagger a Weak Christian, but to put a Wiseman to a Second Thought, and make him Exclaim with the Prophet; [*Lo, These are the Ungodly, These Prosper in the World, and These have Riches in Possession. Then have I cleansed my Heart in vain, and washed my Hands in Innocency.*]

Ma. 73. 12.

To see the same Men, *Swearing* to day, with their Hands lifted up unto the Lord, in a Holy covenant, to Defend and Preserve his Majesties Person: And a while after, with the same Consecrated Lips, blessing that *Cursed Vote*, that manifestly led to his Destruction. (The *Vote of Non-Addresses*) To see *Ministers*, like so many *Pulpit-Weather-cocks*, shifting from Party to Party, till they have run through every Point of the Compass: *Swearing* and *Counter-Swearing*: And when the City was split into more *Factions* then *Parishes*, still to maintain, that the whole *Schism* was *Acted by the Holy Ghost*. To find the *Pulpit* Trading only in *dark*, and *Oraculous Delusions*, instead of plain, and saving Truths; and the Pretended *Messengers of Peace*, turn'd *Agents for Blood*: to hear, and see all this, and More, and the Cause Prosper too, What could the Invention of Man add more to this *Temptation to Apostacy*?

Lastly; Your *Necessitated Toleration*, (*Necessitated* I say; for you could never have Crush'd the Government without it) started so many lewd Opinions, that it was some Degree of *Modesty*, for fear of

of a worse choice, e'en to be of *No Religion at all* : And without Dispute, many People finding it left so indifferent, of *what Religion* they were, became Themselves as Indifferent whether they were of *Any*, or *No*. So that the *Scandal* which you would spitefully fasten upon the *Persons* of some of our *Party*, is found to be *Radical*, and *Constitutional*, in the very *Elements* of *yours*. Neither is it All, that your *Imputation* is *misplaced* ; but I am afraid you'l find your self in *Another Mistake*.

Which of the Two do you account the more Tolerable ; *Scandal*, or *Schism* ?

N. C. *If by Schism you mean A Refusal to joyn with that Church, where I cannot Communicate without Sin ; And if by Scandal you intend such Actions as are of evil Example, and minister Occasions to our Neighbour, of Falling. I think 'tis easily Determin'd that the One is not to be suffer'd, and the Other not to be condemn'd.*

C. I do not speak of this or that sort or degree of *Schism*, and *Scandal* ; bnt in the just *Latitude*, both of the *One*, and the *Other*. That is to say, (without more Circumstance) Which do you take for the more Tolerable Mischief of the Two ?

N. C. *Truly, betwixt a Perverse Separation, and a Notorious Scandal, I think the Choice is hard ; but I rather incline against the Scandal.*

C. Now, if ye will believe Sir Francis Bacon, *Schism* is *Both* ; [Heresies, and Schisms (says he) are of all others, the greatest Scandals ; yea more then Corruption of Manners.]

Essay of
Unity of
Religion.

Consider it, as it stands in Opposition to *Unity* (which is the *Bond* both of *Religion*, and *Society*.) What can be more *Scandalous*, then that which renders *Religion*, *Ridiculous* ? and that's the Effect of *Schism*. To see so many *Seets*, grinning one upon another, and yet *All Pretending* to the same *One*, and *Infallible Spirit*. Beside, that *Schism* seldom or never goes *alone* ; and in Truth, it is but *Sedition*, in a *Disguise* : For we find, that our *Scrupulous Dissenters*, can with much *Ease*, and *Unity*, Agree in a *War* ; though not in a *Ceremony*.

N. C. *And may there not be Conspiracies in Scandal, as well as in Schism ? There, with an Evident Design to bring Contempt upon Religion :*

gion: Whereas Here, we find at least a Colour, and Pretense to uphold it. Further; the Sins which I account Scandalous, are many of them Levell'd at the Prerogative of God Himself; and in short, the Question is not, properly, and simply, betwixt Schism, and Scandal; but betwixt Schism, and all other Sins whatsoever, that may be Propagated by Conversation, (for That's the Latitude of Scandal.)

Num. 24.
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Again, let me observe from your own Mouth, that Heresies are Scandals: and several Heresies you know, both by the Laws of God, and Man, are Punish'd with Death: He that Blasphemeth the Name of the Lord, shall be put to Death. From whence you may gather some Difference sure, betwixt the Heinousness of the One, and of the Other.

C. You will proceed by a very Uncertain Rule, to measure the Sin by the Punishment: for Political Laws regard rather Publique Conveniences, then Particular Cases of Conscience. A Man shall lose his Life for Picking a Pocket, and but hazzard his Ears for a False Oath.

But if you'll refer the Matter to the Just, and Infallible Judge of all the World, to God Himself; look but into that Dreadful Judgment upon the Schism of Korah. Korah, Dathan, &c. rose against Moses, with Two hundred and Fifty Captains of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and said unto them, [Ye take too much upon You, since all the Congregation is Holy, even every One of them, and the Lord is among them. [Wherefore then lift ye your selves above the Congregation of the Lord?] [And what follow'd?] The Earth open'd her Mouth, and swallow'd them up with their Families, and all the Men that were with Korah, &c. A Fire came out from the Lord, and Consumed the Two Hundred and Fifty Men that Offer'd the Incense. This set the Multitude a muttering against Moses and Aaron; saying, [Ye have killed the People of the Lord.] See now what came of this. [Muttering to:] [Fourteen Thousand Seven Hundred of them were consumed by a Plague.]

Disc. of
Relig.
P. 25.

You have here, not only a Dreadful Instance of Gods Wrath against Schism; but against a Schism also, carry'd on, in the Style of Our present Non-Conformists: [Two Hundred and Fifty Captains of the Assembly, Famous in the Congregation;] Which Our English Translation renders, *An Intelligent, Sober sort of Men, Numerous among all Ranks, &c.* [These rose against Moses and Aaron, and said unto Them, Ye take too much upon You. The Congregation is Holy, and the Lord is among Them. Wherefore do ye lift your selves above the Congregation of the Lord?] What is This, but the Language

Language of Our Age, the common Objection against the *Bishops*,
Lording it over *God's Heretage*. The Consequences I leave before you.

N. C. Give me leave now to pass an Observation upon your whole Discourse. You seem to have been very Punctual, and Methodical in the Distribution of the Parts of it. A Toleration, or No Toleration, was the Question. An Universal Toleration you found too Wide; A Limited Toleration too Narrow; and yet after all This, your Opinion was, that a Toleration under such and such Modifications, and Restrictions might be admitted: Upon which Terms, I was content to come to an Issue with You. Now, since This Tender of a Compliance, You have not proceeded, Methinks, with that Candour which I expected from You. But the Main Stress of your Argument lies against the Whole Party of the Non-Conformists; And (in effect) against any Toleration at all: with little or no Regard to those Accommodable Points, that might have brought the Matter in Difference to some sort of Composure.

C. It is very True, That I am utterly against Tolerating the Whole Party, as a Thing of Certain Inconvenience, to Religion, and Government; and to the Ruine, no less of your selves, then of the Publique. Will Presbytery ever satisfy the Independents Conscience? Or will Liberty any better suit with the Presbyterians? And yet you could both of you joyn with the Directory, against the Common-Prayer; with the Authority of the Pretended Assembly, against that of the Church; wherein you have given Proof to the World, that you were not United upon any Consideration of Conscience, but with a Design upon a Common Booty. Ye overturn'd the Government, Divided the Spoil, Enrich't yourselves, Embroiled every thing, and Settled Nothing. And yet in those Days there was no Act of Uniformity to hinder you.

This is enough to make Evident, that the Non-Conformists are Intolerable, in Conjunction: But if you think fit to make a Tryal, how far any sort of them may agree with our Standard of Toleration, Apart, Plead you the Cause of the Presbyterians, and let your Brother Independent here, (that has been a witness to our whole Debate) take up the Cudgels for his own Party; Not forgetting, that

In the Question of Toleration, the Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government is to be Secur'd.

N. C. According to what Latitude are we to understand that which you call the Foundation of Faith?

C. According

Coiling-
worths
Safe Way,
p. 186.

C. According to the Latitude of the *Apostles Creed*; wherein are contained *All the Articles of Simple Faith, which are Necessary to be Explicitly Believed.*] And whatsoever was found by *Them*, to be *Necessary*, and *Sufficient to Salvation*, continues so still, and ought to be so *Received*, and *Acknowledged* by *Us*: without insisting upon *Deductions*, and *Consequences*, as *Points of Prime*, and *Fundamental Necessity*; though *Occasionally*, and *Obliquely*, they become *Necessary* too. *This is the Word of Faith which we Preach, that if thou shalt Confess with thy Mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy Heart, that God hath raised him from the Dead, thou shalt be saved.* Here's the *Foundation of Faith*: And in that of *Good Life*; respect is to be had to *Morality*, that nothing be *Tolerated* to the *Encouragement of Looseness, Sensuality, and Dissolution of Manners.*

As there is an *Absolute Necessity* of Providing against *Doctrines* and *Opinions* of this Quality: so I think there will be no great *Difficulty*, either of *Discovering*, or of *Suppressing* them: For they are of a Condition so *Notorious*, that they lie open to all *People*: and then so *Odious* they are, by reason of the *Gross Impiety*, and *Scandal*; that they have no *Friends* upon the *Face of the Earth*, (for their *own sakes* I mean) but the *protest Enemies of Christianity, and Nature.* (It is another Case, when they are made use of in *Subserviency to a Faction.*) So that you may save your selves the *Trouble of Catechising* your *Brethren* upon these two *Points*, and rather spend your *Time* upon the remaining *Caution*, for *Securing the Government*: which will be much more to *Our Purpose*; For the *Matter* we are now upon, is a *Question*, rather of *Policy*, than of *Religion.*

Toleration

Toleration Discuss'd,
BETWIXT A
PRESBYTERIAN
AND AN
INDEPENDENT.

SECT. XXV.

Upon a Short and Impartial Survey of the Rise, Progress, and Issue of the War, rais'd by the Two Houses in 1641, The Presbyterians are found to be more Criminal than the Independents.

Presb. **I**N all our Arguments, and Pleas for Toleration, we are still hit in the Teeth, (as in Bar to our Demands) with Dangerous Practises, and Opinions; The Murther of the Late King; The Overturning of the Government; and that we have a mind to serve the Son, as we did the Father. Now forasmuch as the Fact is Undeniable; and truly the Exception but Reasonable, as to those that did it; We are first to clear our selves of that Execrable Fact; wherein I am content to become an Undertaker for the Presbyterians) and to speak afterward, to the Justification of our Principles, and Opinions.

Indep. Give me leave then to Plead the Cause of the Independents; and to observe to you, in the first place, that the Scotch Non-Conformists under King James were Totally Presbyterians: and so were the English Puritans under Queen Elizabeth.

Presb. Were the Anabaptists, Familists, and Brownists, that started up in Those Days, Presbyterians?

Indep. Some Dutch Anabaptists came over indeed in 1660; but one Proclamation scatter'd them Immediately. And even the

Toleration Discuss'd.

Familists, and Brownists, you speak of; Alas! They gave the Executioner more Trouble then the Government, and were suppress'd as soon as Detected. But the Formal, and United Confederacy was still Presbyterian; and you must overthrow all the Memorials, and Records of those Times to gainsay it. Briefly; If you look forward, you will find the Presbyterians again under King James, at Hampton Court; The Presbyterians again, in the several Parliaments under King Charles the First; and so the same Hand still, to the beginning of the Scottish Broils in 1637. Which was the Midwifery of the Plot, they had been so long a Hammering.

Presb. You make nothing it seems of the Turbulent Independents, that went away to New England, Holland, and other Parts beyond the Seas. with all the Glamour, and Rancour Imaginable against the Government.

Indep. Not to Justifie them in their Clamour; I must yet recommend their departure, as a fair Testimony that they withdrew upon Conscience. For by this Secession, they put themselves out of Condition to carry on a Faction: Whereas the Presbyterians, that had a further Design in Prospect, stood their Ground, watch'd their Advantages, and gain'd their End.

Presb. All this is but Talk, without Proof.

Indep. It will be granted, I suppose, that the Scottish Tumults in 1637. and the Rebellion upon the neck of them, in 1638. were advanc'd upon a Presbyterian accompt: and consequently, that those of the same Leven, that Voted them Good Subjects, and Money for their pains, and Adopted them their Dear Brethren for so doing.

Were not the Principals of the Faction in the Long Parliament, every Man of them Presbyterian? Were not the Army, and Assembly, Presbyterian; And all their Votes, Actions, and Conclusions influenc'd accordingly? Who were they that Invited the Scots into England the Second time; (Nov 7. 1642.) That Imposed the Covenant; Prosecuted the War, under the Countenance of it; and made it the Test of Discrimination, betwixt the Malignant, and Well Affected Parties: That Settled the Directory, Nay the Presbytery it self? Were not These Presbyterians?

Who were they, but Presbyterians, that stripp't the King of his Regalities, and Revenues; Commission'd an Army against him; Fought him, Pursu'd him; and in fine brought him to utter Ruine?

Presb.

Toleration Discuss'd.

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Presb. You will find the *Late King of another Opinion, in his Grand Declaration, of Aug. 12. 1642. where he complains of the Tumultuous Assemblies of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries.* Ex. Coll. P. 532.

Indep. But still you will find in the same *Page, that these very People were Animated, and Countenanced, by Presbyterians; and Acted, as the Creatures, and Servants, of that Interest.*

Presb. *Can you say that the English or Scottish Presbyters did ever go about to Dissolve Monarchy?* Interest of Eugl. 44.

Indep. Yes: And I do aver, that the *Nineteen Propositions of June 2. 1642. were as much a Dissolution of Kingly Government, as the very Act it self (of March 17. 1648.) for Abolishing it. And the Uxbridge Propositions were to the same purpose.* Ex. Coll. P. 307.

Presb. *You know very well, that after the New Modelling of the Army, the Presbyterians were able to do nothing; and this was a good while before the King went to the Scots.* Scobels Acts, par. 2 P. 7.

Indep. Let us see then how the *Presbyterians* behaved themselves, after his Majesty cast himself into the Protection of the *Scotch Army* before *Newark*, in *May, 1646.*

Notice was Immediately given of it, to the *Two Houses*, by the *Commissioners of the Army*; Importing their Adherence to the *Covenant*, and *Treaty*; and that they had no fore-knowledge of his Majesties Coming. The *English Army* presently March'd with 5000. *Horse, and Dragoons*, toward *Newark*; and our *Brethren* fairly retreated with the Prey in the Foot toward *Newcastle*. After This, Both Parties stood at Gaze for several Months; but not without a world of tedious Papers, betwixt the *Scotch Commissioners*, and the *Two Houses*, touching their *Joynt Right in Disposing of the Person of the King*. But in the Conclusion, the *Presbyterians* Compounded the Controversie for the Sum of 400000 l. In *May* they took their *Sovereign* into their Protection; In the *December* following, they Sold him; and in *February* they Deliver'd him up; And all This. According to their COVENANT.

Presb. *They must needs Deliver him up, when they could Keep him no longer.*

Toleration Discuss'd.

Indep. They had at that time the City of London to Friend; a *Balancing Vote* in the House of Commons; a Considerable Mixture in the Army; Scotland behind them; (Entire, if ever the Kings Interest came in Play) And at least Ten Thousand Men in a Body. (The Royal Party over and above.) So that here was no visible Force to overawe them: And London himself acknowledged as much, at a Conference (Octob. 6. 1646.) If any such Course shall be taken (says he) or any Demand made for Rendring of his Person, which cannot stand with his Honour, and Safety; or which cannot consist with our Duty, Allegiance, and Covenant; nor with the Honour of That Army, to whom (in time of his Extreme Danger) he had his Recourse for Safety: It cannot be Expected that we can be Capable of So Base An Act: And if (to shun this, and avoid occasion of Quarrelling between the Kingdoms) he shall go to Scotland, and resent his Expulsion out of England; and crave the Assistance of That Kingdom for Recovery of his Right to This Crown: He may in a short time, raise such Forces in Scotland, and Ireland, as with the Assistance of Forreign Princes, these Kingdoms may be made a Field of Blood, &c.

Ansmer to the Vote of Sep. 24. 1646. By This it appears Evidently, that they were under no Necessity of Delivering the King: And you may now see their Opinion of the Action it self. [If it be contrary (say the Scotch Commissioners) to the Law, and Common Practise of Nations, to Deliver up the meanest Subject fled to them, though it be for the Greatest Crimes; How much more would the World abroad condemn our Army, for a Base Dishonourable Act, if they should Deliver up their Head, and Sovereign, (having cast himself into their Hands) to be Disposed of at the Arbitrament of another Nation!

Presb. But yet you saw that they Condition'd for his Honour, Freedom, and Safety.

Indep. That's a Shuffle: For upon such Terms did they render him, that they might have cast a Sheep into a Herd of Wolves, with as much Confidence, and Likelihood of Safety. You are here to distinguish the Faction of Scotland, from the Nation: No Country affording greater Instances of Honour, and Loyalty. Nay, I have heard (even on This Occasion) that upon the Kings Earnest Desire to go for Scotland, it was carried in the Negative but by Two Voices.

Presb. Can you Imagine, that if they had apprehended any danger to his Royal Person, they would not have ventur'd their Lives a thousand times over, to have sav'd him?

In dep.

Indep. No, no: But on the Contrary; They foresaw the Danger debated it; and yet expos'd him: Nay, which is still worse, they reserv'd him for it. Were not his Majesties Friends kept from him, by a strict Order, at Newcastle? Was he not Spied, and Guarded, for fear of an Escape? And upon Information, that He intended one, was not a narrower Watch set over him?

That they foresaw the Danger, is confest by the Chancellor Himself. *Lest we should walk in the Dark,* (says he) *upon Obscurity of Ambiguous Words, I shall desire that the Word of [Disposing of the Kings Person,] may be rightly understood.* For *Dolus versatur in Universalibus.* For to Dispose of the Person of the King, as Both Houses or Both Kingdoms shall think fit, may in some sense be to Depose or Worse. And in a Speech to his Majesty, he goes yet further. If your Majesty (says he) shall refuse to assent to the Propositions; (which God forbid) you will lose all your Friends, lose the City, and the Country; and all England will joyn against you as one Man: And (when all hope of Reconciliation is past) it is to be feared they will Process, and Depose you, and set up another Government. Upon your Majesties refusing the Propositions, both Kingdoms will be Constrained (for their mutual Safety) to Agree, and Settle Religion, and Peace withour you: which (to our unspeakable Grief) will ruine your Majesty, and your Posterity. And if your Majesty reject our Faithful Advice, and lose England by your Willfulness, your Majesty will not be permitted to come and ruine Scotland.

Presb. These Propositions, I suppose, were of Absolute Necessity to the Well-Being of the Publique; they would never have been brought in Competition else with the Kings Freedom, Life, and Dignity.

Indep. The King was first to Justifie the Proceedings of the Two Houses, and to deliver up to Death, Beggery, and Infamy his Whole Party.

2. To Settle the Militia of England and Ireland, in the Hands of the Parliament for Twenty Years; giving them Authority to raise Men, and Moneys.

3. To make void all Honours since 1642. and no Peers admitted for the future, to Sit and Vote in Parliament, but by Consent of Both Houses, who were likewise to dispose of all Great Places, and Offices of Honour, in England and Ireland.

4. His Majesty was to Swear, and Sign the Covenant, and Command the taking of it throughout the Three Kingdoms; Abolishing Episcopacy,

Toleration Discuss'd.

copacy, *and Settling Religion as Both Houses should Agree,*

Upon his Majesties Refusal to Sign These Propositions, the Scotch Declaration of Jan. 1646. tells us, That there will be a Joynt Course taken by Both Kingdoms concerning his Majesties Person.—With Respect had to the Safety, and Preservation of his Royal Person, In the Preservation, and Defence of the True Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms—According to the Covenant. And According to the Covenant, His Majesties Person was Disposed of.

Presb. And do you believe that the Two Houses would have used the King any better, if he had gone to Them.

They made it Treason Immediately, and Death without Mercy, for any Man to Harbour, and Conceal the Kings Person; upon a Supposition, that his Majesty was then in London. This was the fourth of May; and on the sixth, the Commons Voted him to Warwick Castle: which was Unvoted again upon the ninth. In June, the Kings going to the Scots, was Voted, A Design to Prolong the War. And this was as much the Action of the Independents, as the Other was of the Presbyterians.

Indep. Pardon me there, I beseech ye. You see by the Voting Back and Forward, that the House of Commons was upon a hard Tug, but the Scottish Party was totally Presbyterian.

But will you hear the Kirk speak for it self, after the putting of the King into English Hands? They Exhort their Covenanted Brethren, (the Assembly at Westminster) to hold fast their Solemn League and Covenant: to entertain a Brotherhood, and Unity between the Nations, (Feb. 12. 1646.) (but not a Syllable of the King.) Again, (June 18. 1647.) The General Assembly of the Kirk, presses the Two Houses to a speedy Establishment of the Presbytery: (but not a Word again of his Majesty.) And in truth, their Silence is a Favour, considering how they order him, when they speak of him: As you may observe in a Resolve of theirs, upon a Question Debated at Edinburgh.

If the King be Excluded from Government in England, for not Granting the Propositions concerning Religion, and the Covenant; and for not giving a Satisfactory Answer to the Remanent Propositions: Whether in That Case it be Lawful for this Kingdom to assist him, for the Recovery of the Government, or whether it be not Lawful?

Being put to it, We cannot but Answer, in regard of the Engagement of This Kingdom, by Covenant, and Treaty, Negative.

Resolved

Resolved upon the Question,

1. *That the Kingdom of Scotland, shall be Governed as it hath been these last Five Years; All Means being used, that the King might take the Covenant, and Pass the Propositions.*
2. *That the taking of the Scots Covenant, and Passing some of the Propositions, doth not give Warrant to assist him against England.*
3. *That upon bare taking the National Covenant, we may not receive him.*
4. *That the Clause in the Covenant, for Defence of the Kings Person, is to be understood, in Defence, and Safety of the Kingdoms.*
5. *That the King shall not Execute any Power in the Kingdom of Scotland, until such time that he hath Granted the Propositions concerning Religion, and the Covenant; and given a Satisfactory Answer to Both Kingdoms in the rest of the Propositions, presented to him by both Kingdoms at Newcastle.*
6. *That if his Majesty refuse to Pass the Propositions, he shall be disposed of according to the Covenant, and Treaty.*
7. *That the Union be firmly kept between the Kingdoms, according to the Covenant, and the Treaties.*

Here's *Presbyterian Loyalty*: If the King would have consented to give up his Crown; Blast his Conscience; Betray his Trust, and Sacrifice his Friends; he might perchance have been allow'd the Pageantry of a Court, and some *Mock-Properties* of Royalty: but upon other Terms, the Kirk you see gives him no Quarter.

The King is now under the Care of his new *Governours*; *Holdenby* is his Prison; The *Question* is matter of *Church-Government*; and his Majesty is prest to an *Alteration*. Some two Months are spent in the fruitless Desires, and Expectations of his *Chaplains*, for his Advice, and Comfort; and any Two (of Twelve in Nomination) would fatisfie his Majesty. But *That could not be*; (they said (No, not a *Common-Prayer-Book* for his own Private Use. These were the *Presbyterians* still.

Upon the fourth of June 1647. *Cornet Joyce*, with a Party of Horse took the King from *Holdenby*; under colour of preventing other Secret Designs upon the Person of his Majesty. The next day, at a *Rendezvous* near *Newmarket*, was Read, and Signed the *Armies Engagement*: complaining of the *Two Houses*, and in Particular of a Vote they had Past for *Disbanding* the Army. (Where Note, that the *Houses* were still *Presbyterian*) the Sum of their *Engagement* was:
That

That they would *Disband*, upon full Satisfaction received, and not without it. This *Liberty* was menag'd all this while, with much Formality of *Duty*, and *Respect*: the *Houses* at every turn advertis'd concerning the *Kings Motions*: and (*June* the 9th) consulted how further to Dispose of his Majesty. Some three days after, the Army drew toward *London*, and *Alarm'd* the *City*: (contrary to an Express Order of the *Houses*, the very day before) A months Pay was their Errand, and to save Carriage, they made a step from *Reyston* to *St. Albans* to receive it.

On *June* the 15. out comes a Terrible Representation, with Desires from the *Army*, Against all *Arbitrary Powers*, and *Interests* whatsoever: Pleading the *Presbyterian Presidents*, and the *Principles* of the *Two Houses* in their Justification.

The *Parliament* (say they) hath Declar'd it no Resisting of *Magistracy*, to side with the Just Principles, and Law of Nature, and Nations; (being that Law upon which we have assisted you) and that the *Souldiery* may Lawfully hold the Hands of the General, who will turn his Cannon upon his Army, on purpose to destroy them. They Demanded, the Purging of the *Houses*, and Retrenching the Power of Committees; an account for *Publique Moneys*; A Period of the Present Session, and Limits for the Future, &c.

It could not chuse but Gall the *Two Houses*, to see their Throats cut with their own Weapons: but still they kept up their Greatness of Pretense, and Stile; and by an Order as Imperative as ever, they commanded the Placing of his Majesty at *Richmond*; in Order to a Treaty, forsooth, for a Safe, and Well-grounded Peace, But the Army had another Game to play; However, what the *Presbyterians* would have done upon that Occasion, may be seen in what they did afterward, at the *Isle of Wight*, in his Majesties last Distress, and Extremity.

Presb. You are willing I find, to pass over the Barbarism of the Independents toward his Majesty, while they had him at *Hampton-Court*; but there is enough yet behind, to make that Faction Odious to all Eternity.

Indep. Truly no: but I would not spin out a Debate to the length of a History; as to the Barbarisms you speak of, let his Majesty Himself be heard.

Colonel Whaley, I have been so civilly used by You, and Major Huntington, that I cannot but by this parting Farewell, acknowledge it under my Hand. Nov. 11. 1647. And again; from *Carisbrook Castle* to the General, Nov. 27. 1647.

The

The Free Liberty which you willingly afforded us to have of the Use of our Own Chaplains, makes us at this time not only to Acknowledge your Former Civilities, but, &c. So that his Majesties Condition appears to have been somewhat more easie at Hampton-Court, then before it was at Holdenby. Nay, most certain it is, that the Presbyterians, even at that very time, did the Deadly thing that brought the King to the Scaffold.

Presb. *How could that be ; when the Two Houses, by Purging, and Modelling, were Subjected Absolutely to the Devotion of the Army.*

Indep. Thus they did it. His Majesty was at that time, upon fair, terms with Cromwel, and Ireton ; and not without large hopes of a Final Accomodation. (The Author of *The History of Independency*, (Pa. 35.) is positive as to *their Treating with the King.*) While this was in Agitation, the Presbyterians were at work on the other hand to break the King's Confidence in the Army ; by Imputations of Treachery, and Levity : to divert his Majesty to the Seeking of Relief elsewhere ; with particular Undertakings of great Matters from Scotland, and the City of London. This way of Tampering might very well put the King to a stand : which Cromwel no sooner perceived, but he Immediately betook himself to a Course of Extremity : Irritated (over and above, as is credibly affirmed) by an Advise from Argile, in confirmation of his Jealousie.

His Majesties next Remove was to the *Isle of Wight* : Where, for Ceremonies sake, he was presented with *Four Bills* ; and upon his Refusal to pass them, followed the Vote of *Non-Addresses*. In *Passing these Bills*, His Majesty had not only divested Himself, and his Successors, of all *Sovereignty* ; but Subjected his People to the *Basest*, and most *Absolute Tyranny* that ever was Exercis'd upon Mortals.

Presb. *You will not call this the Act of the Presbyterians, I hope.*

Indep. No, I will not : But yet I must tell you, that the Presbyterians, upon this Juncture, did every jot as much as this Amounts to.

So soon as the *Parliament of Scotland* was thoroughly Inform'd of the Distress, and Danger of the Kings Condition, the Matter was present'y Debated ; and a Resolution taken to Raise an Army for his Majesties Relief. In which Proceeding, they were violently opposed by the *General Assembly*, without any regard at all to the
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King's

King's Life, at that time in *Question*. See *The Humble Desires of the Commissioners of the General Assembly to the Parliament*, Pag. 13. (*We desire that his Majesties late Concessions, and Offers concerning Religion, as they have been by the Church, so may be by the Parliament declared Unsatisfactory.* (March 22. 1648.) And afterward: *Ibid.* p. 60. (Jan. 10. 1648.) *That his Majesties late Concessions, and Offers concerning Religion, may by your Lordships, Directly, and Positively, be Declared Unsatisfactory to this present Parliament. And that there shall be no Engagement for Restoring his Majesty to one of his Houses, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, before Security, and Assurance be had from his Majesty, by his Solemn Oath, under his Hand, and Seal, that he shall for Himself, and his Successours, Consent, and Agree to Acts of Parliament, enjoyning the League and Covenant, and fully Establishing Presbyterian Government, Directory of Worship, and Confession of Faith in all his Majesties Dominions: and that his Majesty shall never make Opposition to any of these, or endeavour any Change thereof.*

This is Rivitted with a Mischief. And pray'e shew me now the Material Difference, between Precluding His Majesty by a Vote of *No Adresse*, or by a Resolution of *No Agreement*: His Honour, and Conscience being equally at stake on either side.

To give you the Sum of all in short. The *Presbyterians* began the War; Pursued it; made the *King* a Prisoner; Sold him; and in the Depth of his Calamity, presented him with *Temptation*, instead of *Comfort*. No *Composition* would be heard of, but the *Forfeiture* of his *Soul*, for the *Saving* of his *Life*.

Presb. But the *Independents* however, Crown'd the *Wickedness* with his *Blood*.

Indep. Suppose it so: They did only *Execute* the Sentence, but the *Presbyterians* Pronounc'd it. Neither did they *Execute* it, as *Independents*; or under colour of any Impulse of *Religion*, or *Conscience*, but upon *Civil*, and *Political Pretexts*. He was adjudged to be put to *Death* as a *Tyrant*, *Traytor*, *Murtherer*, and *Publique Enemy*: Not for Refusing to Enter into a *Church-Covenant*, or Establish *Liberty of Conscience*; but upon a Pestilent Motive of *Diabolical Policy*, and *State*. Whereas, the *Presbyterians* persecuted him as *Presbyterians*; and depriv'd him of his *Royal Support*, *Dignity*, *Friends*, *Freedom*, (in Effect) *Life* and all, because he would not renounce his *Reason*, & *Conscience*, in favour of their *Government*. And I am verily perswaded, that you will have as little to say for your *Principles*, as for your *Actions*.

SECT. XXVI.

What Party soever Demands a Toleration, and yet maintains, that it is DeLructive both of Church and State, to Grant one, is an Enemy to Both.

Indep. **A**S to the Point in Question; It lies Naturally before us to speak first to the Thing, in it *self*; and we may afterward consider it in the *Consequences*.

In the Desire of a *Toleration*, the *Independents* ask no more then they would be ready to Allow; I wish the *Presbyterians* could say the like.

Presb. In the large sense of *Allowing* all sorts of *Libertines*, and *Heretiques*, as the late Independent Government did, I do confess you have outdone the *Presbyterians*.

Indep. And yet those very *Libertines*, and *Heretiques*, were *Your White-Boys*, and *Favourites*, so long as they serv'd *Your Ends*. They had none of this Language from you, when they Tumulted against *Bishops*, and *Common-Prayer*; *Ceremonies*, and *Popish Lords*. While they were the Instruments of *Your Ambition*, they were the *Godly, Well-affected Party*: So that *Heretiques*, it seems, will down well enough with your *Politiques*, though not with your *Consciences*: Provided they will content themselves to be *Damn'd*, and let the *Presbyterians* alone to *Govern*.

Presb. The *Independents* made sweet work in *Holland*, did they not? And where was your *Spirit of Toleration*, and *Forbearance*, I beseech you, in *New-England*?

Indep. You cannot say that we gave any *Trouble* in *Holland* to the *State*; or that we fell foul there upon *Different Judgements*. In *New England*, 'tis true, we excluded the *Gortonists*, *Familists*, *Seekers*, *Antinomians*, *Anabaptists*; and Subjected them to the *Censure* of the *Civil Power*, as People of *Dangerous Principles*, in Respect both of *Good Life*, and *Government*. Which Proceeding of ours methinks might serve to disabuse those that call *Independency* the *Genus Generalissimum* of all *Errours*, *Heresies*, *Blasphemies*, and *Schisms*: and take the *Church way* of *New-England*, for that sort of *Independency*. They

did also exclude *Papacy*, and *Prelacy*; the *Latter*, perchance, more out of Regard to a *Temporary Convenience*, then upon any rooted Principle of *Implacable Severity*. And I perswade my self, the *Episcopal Party* will witness thus much on our behalfs; that as to the Freedom of their *Meetings* and way of *Worship*, in the late *Revolutions*, they had much better Quarter from the *Independents*, then ever they had from the *Presbyterians*: There was no *Persecuting* of Men for *Covenants*, and *Directories*: So that Thus far, the *Independents* have made their *Professions of Liberty* good, by their *Practise*.

Old Non-
Confor.
p. 41.
Petition
for peace.
p. 20.

Presb. And are not the *Classical Prebyterians* as much for a Law-ful Liberty, as the *Congregationals*? [Let there be a *Toleration* in Religion, excepting to *Blasphemy*, *Treason*, or *Gross Errours*.] Bear with the Weak; *Tolerate* the *Tolerable*, and for the *Intolerable*, we beg not your *Toleration*. Here's the *Sense and Desire* of the *Presbyteri-an Divines* that were *Commission'd* about the *Review of the Service-Book*.

Indep. This is only a *New Song*, to an *Old Tune*. The *Presbyterians* have just the same need of the *Independents* at this day, that they had some *nine and twenty Years ago*. The Author of *The Discourse of Religion* has many good *Remarques* upon the *Papists*, that may be very well applied to the *Presbyterians*: and *This for One*. [Things past (says he) may afford *Prognostiques* of things to come. So that we are to gather what you intend now, from what you did, after saying the same things before. Or if you had rather come to a *Tryal*, upon the *Evidence* of your own *Manifestos*, and *Declarations*, then upon the *History* of your *Practises*; I shall make use of no other *Testimony* against you.

Par. I. p. 6.

The *Presbyterians* press the *Demand* of a *Toleration*, as a very *reasonable Request*; and yet they *Themselves* have pronounc'd *Judgment* against it, as a thing against *Conscience*, *Destructive* of *Publique Order* both in *Church*, and *State*, and of the *Peace of Common-Society*.

Gongrena
par. 1. p.
282

Ibid. 303.
Rutherford,
Free Disp.
p. 267.

Toleration (says *M. Edwards*) cannot be *Condescended to*, without a *Breach of Oath*, and *Covenant*. [It is the *Depth of Satan*, this *Design* of a *Toleration* of *Heresies*, and *Gross Errours*; but an *Allowance* of a *Latitude* in some *Lesser Differences* with *Peaceableness*. This is *Candidus ille Diabolus*, That *White Devil*, &c. The *London-Ministers Letter* to the *Assembly*, in 1643. declares it *Repugnant* to the *Solemn League and Covenant*. The *Commissioners* of the *Kirk of Scotland*, do

do Protest, and Declare against it, as Inconsistent with, and Repugnant to the Word of God.

As to the Influence of a Toleration upon Church and State; Mr. Edwards tells us, that *The Party Tolerated will never rest Working, till they get the upper hand, and Suppress the Other.* Rutherford is positive that *such Opinions, and Practises as make an Evident Schism in a Church, and set up two Distinct Churches, of Different Forms, and Government, are Not to be Tolerated.* For by their Principles they labour, each the Destruction of the other; and this Toleration destroys Peace and Unity. Again, The London Ministers are of Opinion, that it will produce *causeless, and unjust Revolts from the Ministry, and Congregations. The Peoples Minds will be Troubled, and in Danger to be Subverted. Heart-burnings will be Fomented, and Perpetuated to Posterity. The Godly, Painful, and Orthodox Ministers will be Discouraged, and Despis'd. The Life and Power of Godliness will be eaten up by Frivulous Disputes, and Janglings. And the whole Church of England, in short time, will be swallowed up with Distraction, and Confusion. The Kingdom will be wofully weakened also, by Scandals, and Divisions: The Power of the Magistrate will not be only weakened, but utterly overthrown, by the Anti-Magistratical Principles, and Practises of the Independents: And the whole Course of Religion in Private Families, will be interrupted, and undermined.*

Not to multiply Authorities more then necessary, This has been the strein of all your Proceedings: *Imperiously, and Inexorably Strict, and Rigorous in Imposing upon Others; and as Shamelessly Importune, and Clamorous for Liberty to Your selves.* But what have I more to do, then to pass Sentence upon you, out of your own Mouths? You cannot in Conscience desire a Toleration, if you understand it to be Against Conscience to Grant it. And the very Asking of That which you believe would draw a Destruction upon Church and State, is Ground enough for a strong Presumption that you Intend it.

Presb. That which was a Reasonable Cause of Refusal, from the Presbyterians to the Independents, will not hold good from the Church of England to the Presbyterians: *Either in respect of the Stability of our Government, or of the Sobriety of our Principles.*

SECT. XXVII.

In Case of a Toleration, or Indulgence to be Granted, Whether has the fairer Pretense to it; The Classical way of the Presbyterians, or the Congregational Way of the Independents; in Respect of their Form of Government.

Indep. **T**He *Presbyterians* (you say) are rather to be *Tolerated* than the *Independents*, in regard of the *Stability* of their *Government*, and the *Sobriety* of their *Principles*. To speak in this Place to the Matter of their *Government*; I think your *Argument* is very *ill grounded*. For in *Deliberations* of this Nature, the *Cautions* that occur to all *Magistrates* are chiefly these two. *First*, in Case of an *Indulgence*, that it may be placed upon a Party, which in *Probability*, would not disturb the *Publique* if they could; But *Secondly*, to make sure however, (for fear of the worst) that they shall not be able to do it, if they would. So that whether a *Stable*, and *United*, or a *Loose*, and *Distracted Interest* may with more *Security* be *Indulged*, is the *Question*.

Pres. You may as well ask, *Whether Order, or Confusion be more Tolerable in a Government.*

Indep. That *Order* which is *Necessary* in the *Government* it self, is *Dangerous* in the *Enemies* of it. But deliver your *Exceptions* to the *Toleration* of those which you call *Independents*, in *Regard* of their way of *Government*.

Presb. You have already, in a good part, sav'd me that *Labour*. But a *Mrn* shall not need to go further for an *Exception*, then to the very *Denomination* of them; which Import, an *Exemption* from all *Jurisdiction*, both *Ecclesiastical*, and *Civil*.

Indep. But what will become of that *Exception*, when I shall tell you, that those People are no more *Independent*, then the *Presbyterians*? [We depend upon the *Magistrate* for *Civil Government*, and *Protection*; and upon *Christ*, and his *Word*, for the *Rule* of our *Administrations*. Nay, we insist upon it, that the *Congregational Way*, is the only true *Original Presbytery*, which is *Peculiar* to every *Particular Church of Christ*. But if you call us *Independent*, as in distinction to

Subordinate,

*Cuttons
Way, p. 11*

*Bartons
Vind. p. 18*

Subordinate, we are not only ready, as such *Independents*, to defend our selves ; but by virtue of that very *Independency*, we pretend to claim an Advantage over the *Presbyterians*.

Pres. *I could tell ye of your Church-Covenants, and Defensive Leagues, against the Commands of Authority.*

Indep. But I could speak homer to you, of your *National Leagues and Covenants* ; which all the World knows, are the grand Engines to disjoynt Communities, and remove the Foundations of Government. And I do not much wonder at it, where the *Act of a General Assembly, Influences the Consciences of a whole Nation.* As to any *Covenant*, and *Leagues* against the *Magistrate* ; neither do the *Independents* practise them, nor would they stand them in any stead, if they had a mind to play the Villains ; for want of an *Orderly Dependence*, to unite, and to oblige them.

Presb. *And for that Reason, you Imagine, the Independents may be better Tolerated, then the Presbyterians.*

Indep. Truly for That Main Reason, with Twenty Great ones more in the Belly of it.

It were a wild thing for a Man to apprehend any danger to a Government, from a Faction that is Divided, and Distracted within it self ; and without any Common Tye of Agreement to Unite it. And This do I take to be the Condition of the *Independents*, (which for Discourse sake, we will suppose to be a *Faction.*) Their *Congregations* are generally *small* ; the Members of them, gather'd up here and there, and so Scattered, and Intermix'd with People of other Perswasions, that they have neither *Opportunity*, nor *Encouragement* to joyn in a *Conspiracy*. Besides that in Respect of their *Church Parity*, they want that ordinary *Medium* of Superiority, and Subjection, to link them together in a Combination, upon the Point of *Common Interest*. Another Difficulty will arise from the *Affections* of the Pastors themselves : who are not without their touches of *Disgust*, and *Emulation*, to see themselves either *Out-vied*, or *Deserted* : the *One*, by Fuller Congregation ; and the *Other*, by the Removal of their Members from one Church to another.

Presb. *If I am not mistaken, you have provided against the Inconvenience of Breaking in One upon Another ; by an Obligation at your Entrance into any Church, not to forsake it without Leave. But proceed.*

Indep.

Toleration Discuss'd.

Indep. There remains yet behind, another Obstacle, equal to all the rest: Which is: that the *Independents* have no Men that are Eminent for *Popularity, Interest, Great Fortunes, and Abilities*, to head them. Now how it is possible for a Party under all these Disadvantages, to work any Mischief to the State, I am not wise enough to imagine. If you object, that the late *Independent Government* had many Persons at the Helm, that were qualified with these Circumstances. I must Answer you, that whatever they were, they did not set up Originally for *Independency*.

Presb. So that upon the Result, to save your Party from appearing dangerous, you have made it Contemptible. And your Argument would have run very well in those Words, The *Independents* may better be Tolerated then the *Presbyterians*: for no Body that has either *Brains, or Reputation*, will own *Independency*.

Ind. p. As an Interest (you should have said) whereupon to work any Change of Government. (And this would have been point-blank to the Question, and your Period never the worse for't.)

Now if my Reason be good on the behalf of the *Independents*, that They may be Tolerated without any Risque to the Commonwealth, upon the Considerations before mentioned: It will hold as good against the *Presbyterians*; because of the very Contrary Circumstances in their Government, and Case; That is to say, they are at great Agreement in the Orderly Reduction, and Connexion of their *Polity*; and they have commonly found Great Friends to uphold them in their Pretenses.

My first Exception to *Presbytery* is, that it is a *National Church-Government*. And methinks Two *National Church-Governments* in the same Kingdom, looks like a Sharing of the Sovereignty, and the setting up of *Christs Vicar* against *Gods Vicegerent*. And what will the People say in the Matter, but either that the Government thinks them in the Right, or else that 'tis affraid of them? The former Supposition draws the Simile into the Party upon Conscience; and the Latter engages the Crafty upon Interest.

To take it now in the Constitutive Parts of it; the Scale of the *Presbytery* rises Thus: From *Parochial* Inspection, to *Classical*; from *Classical* to *Provincial*; and from *Provincial*, to *National*: Which Extensive Latitude, and Comprehension, does plainly discover, that there was a Design of Sole, and Sovereign Dominion in the very Institution of the Discipline.

To

To say nothing in this Place of the *Absolute and Independent Authority* Claimed, and Exercised by the *General Assembly*; I shall only observe this to you: that they have the best Security in the World, for their Subjects Obedience to all their Acts, and Conclusions whatsoever. For *Life, Fortune, Soul*, and all lies at Stake: They *Fine, Punish, Degrade, Excommunicate* at Pleasure. And this is the True Reason, that from time to time, the *Presbyterial Discipline* has had the Countenance of so many Popular *Advocates*, and Abettors. For certainly, it is the best Foundation for an Alteration of State, that ever was yet laid upon the Face of the Earth; and their work is three quarters done to their hand, in the very Disposition of the *Model*.

Only one Observation more, and I have done. And That is, The Provident Commixture of *Laity*, and *Clergy* in all their Counsels; *These* to Attaque the *Church*, the *Other*, the *State*; by which means, they may the more commodiously carry on *Schism*, and *Sedition* in their proper Seasons: and leave a Door of Preferment, and Advantage, open to all Comers.

I will not say yet, that it is *absolutely Impossible* for a *Protestant Monarchy*, and this *Double-refr'd Presbytery* to prosper in the same Soil: But if I had Money in my Pocket, I would not give any Prince in Christendom above eighteen months Purchase for his Crown, that should put it to the Venture. For he has nothing in the World to trust to, but Miracles: The *Gratitude, Faith, Good Nature*, and *Pure Integrity* of the *Party*.

SECT. XXVIII.

Whether may be better Tolcrated in This Kingdom, the Presbyterians, or the independents, in Respect of their Principles, and Ordinary Proceedings.

Debated, First, with Relation to his Majesties Person and Authority.

Indep. **T**He Government of England is *Monarchique*; but so temper'd with *Legal Provisions* for the *Comfort*, and *Benefit* of the *People*, that every *Englishman* has his *Interest* in the *Preservation* of the *Law*; as That which Intitles him to the *Free Enjoyment* of his *Life* and *Fortune*: So that we are to frame our *Discourse* with a *Regard* to His *Majesties Person*, and *Royal Authority*; The *Foundation*, and *Execution* of the *Law*; and *Rights*, and *Just Liberties*

Liberties of the People : Utterly excluding from the Limits of Our Toleration, all Power or Pretense whatsoever, that shall presume to Usurp upon any of These Particulars. Now to begin with the *First*.

What do you find in the *Independent Way*, that may endanger his Majesty, either in his *Person*, or in his *Prerogative* ?

Presb. *The Princes of Germany would answer you, that your Proceedings are Sanguinary and Violent ; not only against your Actual Opposers, but against the very Ordinance of Magistracy it self.*

Indep. What are the Furies of the *Anabaptists* to Us, that have declared against them, as well as You ? But if you can fasten upon those of the *Congregational Way*, any *Antimonarchical Opinions*, or *Practises*, which are either wrap't up in the Bowels of that Profession, or naturally Issuing from thence : and make good your Assertion, by proving what you say, to have been the Formal Act of any One of our Churches by it self, or *More* of them in *Combination*, I will never open my Mouth after it, in a Plea for the *Independents*.

Presb. *It were a hard matter indeed to fasten any thing upon the Principles of a Party, that professes to have no Principles, but still refers it self to the guidance of a Further Light.*

Indep. And yet you can blame us for our Principles, though by your own Confession, you know not what they are. Now for the *Reserve* of Acting according to a *Further Light*, it is exprest in the ordinary Form of our *Church-Covenant*, that it is to be reach'd unto us out of the Word, which most assuredly will not leade us into any Evil.

If this be all you have to say against the *Independents*, I would gladly hear what defence you are able to make for the *Presbyterians* ; either simply or in themselves ; or else comparatively with any other sort of People. Nay, I should not much care if you took the *Jesuits* themselves for your Foil.

Presb. *How can you say this ? considering [that Thundring of Excommunication, which has sounded in all Ages, since the beginning of the Papal Reign, against Kings, Emperours, &c. And these Practises Justified by their Decretals and Canons, Divines of greatest Authority, and some of their Councils : Ascribing to the Pope a Power of Deposing Princes that are Heretical, or Favourers of Heretiques. The*
Jesuites

Jesuites Doctrine of King-killing hath made them Odious, &c.

Indep. Do you tell us of *Papal-Excommunications*, justified by *Canons, Divines, Councils; Deposing of Kings for Heresie*; and the *Jesuites Doctrine of King-killing, &c.* The *Disciple* should speak Reverently of his *Master*: for I assure you, a *Jesuits* Cloak fits exceedingly well upon the Shoulders of a *Presbyterian*.

To Discipline, must all the States within the Realm be Subject as well Scotch the Rulers as the Ruled. (According to the Discipline of the Kirk of Disc. p. 59 Scotland, Printed in London, 1647.

The Person of the Magistrate ought to be Subject to the Kirk, Spiritually, and in Ecclesiastical Government; Submitting himself to the Discipline of the Kirk, if he transgress in matters of Conscience and Religion. Beza, Buchanan, (and in truth, the whole Brotherhood) are for the Excommunication of Princes. So that there's *Presbyterial Excommunication* you see, as well as *Papal*. Ib. p. 78.

And in case of Superstition and Idolatry, the *Presbyter* can Depose too, as well as the *Pope*, in case of *Heresie*. Was not the *Queen-Regent* in Scotland 1659. deposed, upon the Encouragement and with the Approbation of *Willoc, Knox*, and their Fellows? As not doing her Duty to the Subjects; and as a vehement Maintainer of Superstition and Idolatry? Did not the Commissioners of the Kirk in 1596. threaten an open Protestation against King James, and his Council, in case of either *Pa-doning* or *Restoring* the Popish Lords that were at that time under Banishment? Hist. of Reform. Printed 1644, p. 125. Scotland, Hist. p. 418.

As to the *Jesuites Doctrine of King-Killing*, we are able not only to match, but to out-doe it, out of the School of the *Consistory*. There is no doubt but the *Jesuits* are guilty of delivering Doctrine that naturally leads to *King-killing Conclusions*. But do ye finde that ever they said in plain terms; *It is Lawful for Subjects to take up Arms against their Sovereign, in case of Religion; or that ever they publicly applauded the Murther of a Prince, after the Fact was committed*? Certainly, in this particular, the *Consistorian Copy* goes beyond the *Papal Original*.

Upon a dangerous Uproar that was raised by the Ministers in Edinburgh, 1596. the King by Proclamation discharged all Judicatories from Sitting there. Whereupon the Ministers prest a *Bond of Association*, upon the Noblemen and Barons; and sent a Letter (drawn by *Robert Bruce*, and *Walter Balcanquel*) to the Lord *Hamilton* to Head them: For by the motion of Gods Spirit, and animated by the Word, the People had gone to Arms, in defence of the Church, &c. Ib.

Not to trouble you with a Rabble of Unnecessary Instances; In the Ninth Section there has been said more then enough upon this Subject already. You shall now see the Veneration they have for the *Persons of Princes*.

Spotswood Gibson, In the Pulpit, denounced that Curse against King James, Hist. Scotl. that fell upon *Jeroboam*: that he should die Childless, and be the last of P. 343. the Race. (An. 1585.) which words, by the Assembly (with much Ibid. 367. ado, and after declining the Question, were found to be Scandalous.

Ibid. 419. David Blake preached, that all Kings were the Devils Barns, and His Majesty had detected the Treachery of his Heart. For which he was cited before King and Council, and appeal'd to the Presbytery who by their Commissioners moved his Majesty for a Surcease of the Process, with a charge, in case of refusal, to Protest against the Proceedings of the Council. *Quasi Pulpita* (says Camden) *a Regum Autoritate essent Exempta*. As if Pulpits were privileged from the Authority of Princes.

Ibid. 430. John Welch, at the High Church in Edinburgh, preached, that the King was possesst with a Devil, and that the People might Rise Lawfully and take the Sword out of his hand.

But what is all this, in comparison with the License of the late times here at Home, when the Two Houses, and Assembly were dayly entertained with Sermons and Pamphlets of this Quality, for which the Authors had their Thanks, and Imprimanturs? But I shall rather confine my self now, to the Arbitrary excesses of the Scottish Presbytery, as the Model of the Covenanted and blessed Reformation.

To come now to their Usurpations upon the Civil Power.

Ibid. 322. King James was surpriz'd at Ruthven (1582.) under pretext of Religion, and kept 5 months a Prisoner. This Act was publicly justified by the Assembly at Edinburgh, as done for the Preservation of the Kings Person and Religion.

Ibid. 330. In the Case of Andrew Melvil: It was insisted upon, that Treason in the Pulpit, fell under the Cognition of the Presbytery, and that neither King nor Council, *Prima Instantia*, ought to meddle with it. But it is a much easier matter to find what a Prince may not do, (under the Inspection of a Presbytery) then what he may.

(a) Ibid. 324. He must not (a) receive an Ambassador, nor (b) pardon an Offender, without the Approbation of the Kirk. Nor so much as chuse (b) 398 his own Guards; (c) Court-Officers, or Counsellors, nor Issue out any (c) 419 Proclamations or Decrees. They are to direct him (d) what Forfeitures (d) 495

tures to take, and how to dispose of them : *when to Arm, and whom to Trust.* If the King has a mind to *Feast an Ambassador*, they presently indict a *Fast*; (e) and Curse the Magistrates almost to *Excommunication*, for not observing it. Nay, so little Power had King James with these People, that (f) when his Mother was under a (f) 354 Sentence of *Death*, he could not get them so much as to *Pray* for her, *That God would Illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and save her from the Apparent danger she was in.*

On the other side ; they claim to themselves the Power of *War, and Peace*; of *Calling and Dissolving Assemblies* ; and whensoever they shall think fit to say, that *the Good of the Church; the Glory of Kings God : or any Spiritual end is concerned*, They make no Scruple in the large De- World, of *Levying Armes, Men, Moneys*; *Seizing of Castles, and* clar. p. 415 *Forts*; *Issuing out of Warrants for Members of Parliament.* (a) They impose *Oaths and Covenants* against the *King Himself*; (b) Encounter (a) lb. 87 (b) 98 *Proclamations with Anti-Protests*; (c) *Rescind Acts of Counsels, &c.* (c) p. 416 And what's the colour for all this haughtiness and State? The *Ministers* (forsooth) are *Christs Deputies*; and their *Acts* are *Christs Ordinances*; whereas *Judges*; *Counsellors*, and *Parliaments* are but the *King's Substitutes*, and their *Laws* only *Humane*.

Pres. You are not any more to conclude against the *Presbyterial Government*, from the *President of some Factional Assemblies*, than against the *Constitution of Parliaments*, from the *President of some Seditious Compositions and Elections*.

Indep. Neither do I charge these *Imposing Usurpations* upon the *Confederacy of a Cabal, or a Faction*, but upon the *Original Scope, and Mystery of the Discipline*; for I find them rooted in the very *Foundation of their Policy*.

Their *Pragmatical Intermedling in Civil Affairs*; and matters of *Scotch State*, is warranted by their *Book of Government*; where it is said, *Diff. p. 79: lb. p. 79.* that the *Minister handleth External things, only for Conscience cause*: Now I would fain know that *Notion* which may not some way or other, be made *Relative to Conscience*. *Ib. p. 79:*

For *Limiting the Magistrate in the Exercise of his Power*, they have this Plea; that though the *Ministers do not Exercise the Civil Jurisdiction*, they *Teach the Magistrate how it should be Exercised according to the Word*. So that the *Prince is put to School to the Masterhips of his Parish*, to learn every *Point and Circumstance of his Duty*.

Now for the *Absolute and Boundless Jurisdiction of their General Assemblies* ::

Assemblies: They tell us, not only that *The Kirk* is to appoint *Times* and *Places* convenient for their *Meeting*; but that as well *Magistrates*, as *Inferiours*, are to be *Subject* to the *Judgment* of the same; in *Ecclesiastical* Causes, without any *Reclamations* or *Appeal* to any *Judge* Civil or *Ecclesiastical*.

Is not this a *Dethroning* of *Majesty*, to set *Princes*, and *Peasants* upon the same *Level* in *Point* of *Subjection* to their *Resolutions* and *Decrees*.

Ib. p. 91

Presb. Not at all; For the *Magistrate* is to assist, and maintain the *Discipline* of the *Kirk*; and punish them *Civilly* that will not obey the *Censure* of the same.

Indep. In truth it is a *Goodly Office* you have allotted the *Chief Magistrate*; to set him *Cheek by Jowl* with the *Beadle* of the *Parish*: You are to direct the *Punishment*, and *He* is to *Execute* it.

But what if he should prove *Refractory*, and dispute your *Authority*? In *Case* of *Contumacy*, *He* is as *Liable* to *Censure* (you say) as another *Person*. And then you have no more to do, but to resort to your ordinary *Method* of *Calling* in the *Noblemen*, *Barons*, *Gentlemen*, *Burgesses*, and *Commons* to your *Assistance* against him.

Ibid, 61

Ibid, 44

Let me now *marque* to you, the *Passages* in your *Discipline*, that make two *shrewd discoveries*. [*A Minister* (you say) must not frequent, and commonly haunt the *Court*, unless either sent by the *Kirk*, or called upon by *Authority* for his *Counsel*, and *Judgment* in *Civil Affairs*. And afterwards, you say, that, *Ministers* may and shall assist their *Princes*, when required, in all things agreeable to the *Word*; whether it be in *Counsel* or *Parliament*, or otherwise. Provided, that through *Flattery* of *Princes*, they hurt not the *Publique State* of the *Church*.

Whence it appears; *First*, that *simple Presbyters* may do well enough in *Parliaments*, or *Counsels*; though *Bishops* are *Excluded*: were it not *Secondly*, for the danger of creating a *Kindness* betwixt the *King*, and the *Kirk*; which in consequence would frustrate the main *Design*. For the *Prime end* of this *Church Policy* is the *Overtopping* and *Subjecting* of the *Secular Power*: and it was wisely done to temper the very *Foundation* of it with *Principles* of *Opposition* to the *Order*, and *well-Being* of *Civil Government*.

SECT. XXV.

The Question of Toleration, betwixt Presbytery and Independency, debatad, with regard to the Foundation and Execution of the Law.

Presb. **W**Hat if you had put the Question, betwixt a Peaceable, and Obedient sort of People, and a Generation of men that cannot live out of Contention?

Indep. The men of Contention, I suppose you would have me understand to be the Independents. What's the Quarrel to them upon the matter now before us?

Presb. Only This; that they are Intolera'le in any Government. How many Plots have they had upon this Kingdom, since his Majesties Return? There was Venner's Rising; A Conspiracy in the North; Another in Ireland.

Indep. And all this while, you forget the Rebellion in Scotland, which was professedly Presbyterian; beside that, These disorders which you speak of, were nothing at all to the Independents: But (one way or other) these Instances are to no purpose without some Authoritative Allowance: and Pray'e let us agree upon it, that only the Conclusions of the Kirk, on the one hand, and of the Church on the other, may be Insisted upon, as the Acts of either Party.

Pres. I do not find that the Independent Churches come to any Resolutions at all.

Indep. You have the less to say then against their Principles; and I wish the Independents could say the same thing for the Presbyterians. How far, I beseech you, are Humane Laws Binding?

Presb. So far forth as they are agreeable to the Word of God.

Indep. And wdo shall Determine what Laws and Constitutions are agreeable to God's Word?

Presb. The Church Lawfully Constitute; which all Godly Princes, and Magistrates ought to hear, and to obey their voice, and Reverence the Majesty of the Son of God speaking in them.

Indep.

Toleration Discuss'd.

Indep. I need not ask what Church that is; For *John Morellius* was *Excommunicate*, for maintaining in a certain Treatise, That *Tell The Church*, did not belong to the *Consistory*, and the *Book* was burnt. But to the Point.

If the *Word of God* be the *Rule for Humane Laws*; and the *Presbytery*, the sole Expounders of the *Word of God*; the *Law* of the *Nation* is at the *Mercy of the Kirk* already: for 'tis but saying, that *This or that Law is not Agreeable to the Word of God*, and there's an end on't.

2d book
of Disc.
P.86

Presb. The *Kirk* has Power to *Abrogate and Abolish all Statutes, and Ordinances concerning Ecclesiastical Matters, that are found noysome, and unprofitable, and agree not with the time, or are abused by the People.*

Indep. If the *Kirk* has *This Power*, the *Pope Himself* pretends to nothing beyond it. Are not your *Determinations* as *peremptory*; and your *Orders* as *Imperious*? But I am speaking here as to the *Latitude* of your *Pretended Jurisdiction*. You may *abrogate All Statutes* (you say) *Concerning Ecclesiastical Matters*. And I say on the other side, that you may upon that *Ground*, *abrogate all the Statutes* in the *Christian World*: for I defie the whole race of *Mankind*, to shew me any one *Law extant*, or the very supposition of a *Law possible*, which may not some way or other, be said to *Concern Ecclesiastical Matters*.

Pres. You take no notice, how this *Power* is clogg'd with *Limitations*. If they be found *Unprofitable, Unseasonable, or to be abused by the People*.

Indep. Very good: And if the *Kirk* shall think fit to find them so; Pray'e *What Remedy*? But their own *Avowed Actions, and Declarations*, are the *Best Comments* upon their own *Principles*.

Under *King James* in *Scotland*, nothing was more ordinary, then over-ruling *Acts of Parliament* by the *Acts of the Assembly*: Did they not erect a *Counsel of the Church* in *Edenborough*, 1596. and take upon them to *Convene, Examine, and Censure* at pleasure such as they suspected to hold any *Correspondence* with certain *Excommunicate Lords*? did they not also appoint to meet in *Armes*, at the *Tryal* of them?

Spotsw.
Hist. 418
Ibid, 398
Kings
large De-
cla. p. 416

Nor did they think it enough, to *Rescind, or supersede Acts of Parliament and General Assemblies*: but *People must be Question'd too for yielding*

yielding Obedience to Acts of Parliament, and of General Counsels under Colour of unjust Laws. We'll close this particular with the Judgment of the Commissioners of the General Assembly of Scotland, of May 5. 1648.

The Authority of Parliament is one thing; an Act of Parliament Declar, another thing. We do still acknowledg their Authority, when we obey not of the This or That Act. And whatsoever be the Treason of Impugning the Au- Commis- thority of Parliament, It can be no Treason to Obey God rather than Man: ou, p. 55. and § 6. Neither did the General Assembly of Glalgow, 1638. and such as were active for the Covenant at that time, commit any Treason, when they Impugned Episcopacy, and Perth Articles, although ratify'd, and strengthen'd by Acts of Parliament, and standing Laws then Unrepealed.

Pres. When we have once gotten Power into our hands, we are all too apt to abuse it. But I cannot yet perswade myself that the Root of these Practises is to be found in their Principles. Their Books of Discipline are Publique; and no Government would ever entertain it, if there were such danger in it.

Indep. How was the Covenant entertain'd? or who would have dream'd of any harm in a League for the Preservation and Defence of the King's Majestie's Person and Authority? And yet the Presbyterian Interpretation, and Salvo of Subordinating his Majesties Safety and Preservation to the Defence of the True Religion (immediately following) and the Kirks assuming to Themselves the Judgment of that Religion, brought both King and Church to Destruction. Nor can you choose but observe the Holy Discipline, and Covenant, to be both of a Stile, and both of a Design: Their Claim concerning Ecclesiastical Matters, hooks in all Laws; and In the Defence of the true Religion, They usurp an Authority over all Magistrates. This Discipline (at the best) is but as a Worm at the Root of Civil Government: Wheresoever it comes, the Secular Power hangs the head, and droops upon it, and never thrives after. But to Sovereign Princes, a man might say of it, as God said to Adam, of the Apple: In the day you eat thereof, you shall dye the death.

Now as it is manifestly destructive of Law in the very Foundations of it, to carry an Appeal from all Temporal Governours and Constitutions, to the Scepter and Sentence of Christ, sitting upon his Tribunal in the Presbytery (the Language of Beza himself) so likewise have they their Preparatory Artifices for Obstructing the Execution of

Law, and for the *Weakening*, and *Distraiting* of a Government before they enter upon the Great Work of *Dissolving* it. And this is effected by the *Trojan Horse* (as one calls it) of their *Excommunication*, that carries all the Instruments and Engins of Publique Ruine, and Confusion in the belly of it.

By Virtue of this Device, they do not only impose upon all Ministers, and Courts of Justice; but they may, when they please (as *Hooker* observes) send out their *Writs of Surcease*; and fetch in the whole Business of *Westminster-Hall*, to the Bar of the *Consistory*. Or at the fairest, (according to *Beza's* Distinction) if they allow the *Civil Judge* to try the *Fact* (as *mere Civile*) yet *de Jure Controverso*, *Ecclesiasticum Synedrium constat Respondisse*. The Church was to determine in matter of *Law*, and the *Civil Magistrate* after That, to pronounce *Sentence*, according to *That Decision*. Briefly, *Beza* gives the *Presbytery* the same Power under the *Gospel*, which was Exercised by the *Synagogue* under the *Law*. But now to the Point of your *Excommunication*; and to shew you in what manner it is apply'd, to hinder the *Execution* of *Law*; and to obstruct *Civil Justice*.

By One Clause of your Discipline, You may *Abrogate* what Laws you please, concerning *Ecclesiastical Matters*: And by Another; The Minister is Authorized to handle *External* things, for *Conscience Cause*: So that your *Authority* is without Controul in *Ecclesiastical Matters*; and so is your *Liberty* of handling *Civil Matters* as *Ecclesiastical*. Upon which Bottom was found an Assertion not long since maintained at the *Savoy*, i. e. *That the Command of a most Lawful Act is sinful, if that Act commanded may prove to any One a Sin per Accidens*. Now if the *Kirk* shall think fit to *Abrogate* a Law (as nothing more frequent) whoever shall presume to *Execute that Law*, is sure to be *Excommunicate*: And the *Supreme Magistrate* himself is no less liable to *Church Censure*, for not *Executing* That Sentence, then the *Inferior Magistrate* was for his *Original Disobedience*.

Spotswoods
Hist.
P. 545.

The Bishop of *St. Andrews* (in 1586) was *Excommunicate* for Advising King *James* to a Declaration against Certain Fugitive Ministers that were denounced Rebels; and Contriving the Statutes of (1584.) touching *The Kings Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes*. *Knox* is for *Excommunication* in all Crimes, that are *Capital* by the *Law of God*; and in effect, for the *Churches Tryal* of the very *Fact*. It was not for nothing that the *Two Houses* held the *Assembly* so long in Play, upon this Point; and in Despight of all Importunities to the Contrary, kept the staff still in their own Hands; and reserved to Themselves the *Ultimate Appeal*, in Cases of *Excommunication*.
Presb.

Pres. Was it not rather the Work of the Independents? Who (to say the Truth) were as much against any Settlement at all, as against That; And against the very Convening of the Assembly it self.

Indep. And they had done the State a good Office, if they had totally hindered it. But this is beside our Business. We have said enough as to the Dangerous Influence of *Presbytery*, upon the Security of his Majesty and the Law. It remains now to be considered with a respect to the Rights, and Liberties of the People.

SECT. XXX.

The Question of Toleration, betwixt Presbytery and Independency, debated, with a regard to the Rights, Liberties, and Advantages of the People.

Indep. You see how it is with *Kings, Parliaments, and Laws*, under the Dominion of *Presbytery*. We are now to look into the Condition of the *Nobility, Gentry, Commonalty*, and of the *Presbyterial Clergy* it self, under that Discipline: Which will best appear, by a view of the Powers which the *Presbytery* claims, and Exercises. But let me commend One Note to you as Previous to that Examintion. This Party has constantly screw'd It self into the World, by an *Oath of Mutual Defence*: Which *Oath* they apply as well to the Ruine and Extirpation of their Opponents, as to their own Preservation; by making it a Test of good Affection to that Interest; and Excluding all People whatsoever from any Office, or Benefit Ecclesiastical, or Civil, without subscribing it. You cannot deny but this *Oath* in the very Institution of it, is a Violence both upon *Law*, and *Conscience*; and Consequently, that the Imposition falls heaviest upon those that make an Honourable, and Religious Scruple of their Actions. So that here is already exposed the most Considerable part of the Nation, for the Subject of their Displeasure; with their *Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes* at *Mercy*; as you will find upon a farther Consideration of their Usurped *Authority, and Jurisdiction*.

Presb. In the very Declaration of the Commission of the General Assembly of Scotland, 1648, page. 53. [The Duties of the Second Table as well as of the First: As namely, the Duties between King, and Subjects; Parents, and Children; Husbands, and Wives; Masters,

sters, and Servants, and the Like; being contained in, and to be taught and cleared from the Word of God, are in That Respect, and so far as concerneth the Point of Conscience, a Subject of Ministerial Doctrine, and in difficult Cases, a Subject of Cognizance and Judgment to the Assembly of the Kirk. The Dispute here was about the Assemblies Authority, in the Question of War or Peace.

Is not this at one Blow to destroy the Order of all Relations, Political, and Natural, and Moral? Princes must not presume to make War or Peace; to Enact Laws, or Abrogate; to Spare or Punish, without Ecclesiastical Licence. The Subject must go to the Masters of the Parish, to know whether he shall Obey Authority, or Resist it. And after the same manner it fares with Parents, and Children; Husbands, and Wives; Masters, and Servants; So that there is not any Person, either Publique or Private; Or any Action, or Offices of Regard to Community, Family, or Alliance, that escapes their Pragmatical Scrutiny, and Inspection.

Pres. So far as these Duties are matter of Conscience, there is no Doubt but they are of Ecclesiastical Cognisance; and further then so; they make no Pretension.

Indep. But you must give me leave to tell you then, that their Consciences are larger then other Peoples. The Old Non-Conformist (as an Expedient for the settling Ecclesiastical Affairs (Page 43.) proposes the setting up of Work-Houses for the Poor; the Carrying on of the Fishing Trade; The taking off of Protections; that none may be Imprison'd but according to Law: and the Abatement of Taxes. The Assembly at Glasgow 1638. passed an Act concerning Salmon Fishing, and another about Salt-Pans. And all This I War-rant ye, so far as they concerned Point of Conscience. But if you would see, what the Consistory calls Conscience, in the full Extent, we must repair for satisfaction, to their Direction, and Practises in the matter of Conscience, and Excommunication.

The Kirk proceeds to Excommunication in all Capital Crimes, where the Offender that deserv'd to dye, is suffer'd to live. And in Cases of Fornication, Drunkenness, Swearing, Cursing, Sabbath-Breaking, Wanton Words, Contempt of the Orders of the Church; Oppression of the Poor; Deceit in Buying and Selling, by wrong Metre and Measure.

Pres. Well; and what hurt's in all this?

Indep.

Indep. None at all: But let me proceed. They Censure also Excess in Apparel, Meat, or Drink, Uncomely Gestures; Contentiousness, without reasonable Cause; Chiding, Brawling, Vain-Words; Every fault that tendeth to the Hurt of Man's Neighbour, or to the Hindrance of The Glory of God: Whether by Force or Fraud; Word or Deed; Manifestly, or Secretly; Purposely, or Ignorantly: And the Judgment of the whole is left to the Discretion of the Church. So that your very Thoughts are not free. [The Spiritual Ruler (says the Book of Discipline judgeth Both Inward Affections, and External Actions in respect of Conscience, by the word of God. Upon which ground they take upon them to Censure the very Suspition of Avarice, and Pride: Superfluity or Riotousness, in Chear or Rayment. But upon Dancers, Robin Hoods, and all Games that brings loss, they have no mercy. These particulars are extracted to a syllable out of the most Authentical Records they have to shew for the Warrant of the Scottish Discipline. —(Our Blessed Model.)

Page 79.

But many People perchance will make it a matter of nothing to be Excommunicate upon a Supposition that the Anathema is the uttermost spite of the Censure. They never dream of Cartings, Faggots, Pillories: Shaving their Beards, and Cutting half the Hair of their Heads. Banishments, Pecuniary Mulets, Close Imprisonments, and all sorts of Studied Defamations.

Presbyr. display'd, P. 4.

Nay, If any man refuse to Subscribe their Confession of Faith, Rule of Government, and Manner of Worship, He is forthwith Excommunicate; and upon Remonstrance of a Commissioner from the Presbytery to the Civil Judge, a Warrant granted, commanding him to a Conformity by a Day Certain, or to be Outlawed. If he Conform not within that time, his Estate moveable is forfeited; and if not within a Year and a day, he loses his whole Revenue for his Life. After This, at the further Instance of the Churches Commissioner, Out go Letters of Caption for Apprehending of his Person, and Committing him as a Rebel. And if he be not to be found; These are follow'd with Letters of Inrer-Communing, forbidding all men either Personally to Confer with him, or by Letter, or interposed Person to Correspond with him, upon Pain of the Inter-Communers being Judged and Reputed a Rebel of the same Guiltiness.

Ibi. p. 39

As to the General Rule of Excommunication; no Person (Wife and Family excepted) is to have any Communication with the Excommunicate; be it in Eating or Drinking; Buying or Selling; Tea, in Saluting or Talking with Him: Unless at Commandment or License of the Ministry for his Conversion. His Children begotten and born after that Sentence not to be admitted to Baptism, till of Age to require it; unless the Mother

Book of Discipl. P. 56.

Spotsw.
Hist. p.
436.

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Mother or some special Friends, Members of the Kirk, offer and present the Childe, damning the Iniquity and contempt of the Impenitent. There are that do not allow Husbands to accompany with their Wives in the State of *Excommunication*.

Now upon what hath been deliver'd, let any man consider the *Unchristian Rigour* of this *Disciplinary Inquisition*; not only in the actual Tyranny of it, but in the more miserable Consequences.

First, as it *Scandalizes the Gospel*, and *makes the Death of Christ seem to be no Effect*, by Imposing upon us such Conditions of Salvation, as if the Blessed Angels should descend, and indue humane shapes, they were not able to perform. For it is not what Christ and his Apostles say, that will do a man's business here, without the *Urim* and *Thummim* of the *Parochial Session*, and the defects of the *written Word*, are to be supplied by *unwritten Traditions* out of the *Repository of the Presbyterial Cabal*. In this case it is, that we are to have recourse to the Apostles Precept; of *Standing fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us Free, and not to be intangled again in the Yoke of Bondage*, (a yoke much more intolerable then that of the Law; For the Jews had their Lesson before their eyes, and knew what they were to do. But here, it matters not what either Scripture or Conscience says, without the subsequent concurrence of the *Presbytery*: to whose Supreme and Infallible Judgment (and not to our own) we are to stand or fall either to Heaven, or Hell.

The Rigour of this *Discipline* is most *Unchristian* also, as it *crucifies weak Consciences with Needles, Infinite, and Incurable Scruples*; with *Scruples* that Haunt, Dog, and torment us in the most *necessary and Ordinary Actions of Humane Life*. At the *Church*; at the *Table*; at the *Market*; at *Home*, and *Abroad*: at all *Times*, in all *Places*, and upon all *Occasions*, in our *Words, Thoughts, and Deeds*.

As to *Excess in Eating*. It is *Censurable* either in the *Quantity*, or in the *Quality*. So that in the first place the *Eldership* is to provide one common Gage for the *Stomachs* of the whole *Parish*, for fear of a Mouthful too much. And in the *second Place*, it is made a matter of *Salvation, or Damnation*, whether a Man Eats *Beef, or Venison*.

And so, for *Excess in Apparel*. One inch more, then to Cover your shame. is a *Superfluity*; and one Penny more, in the Pound, then the *Allowance* of the *Presbytery*, is made as much as a Man's Soul is worth.

It is the same thing for *Vain Words*. A Nurse shall not dare to still her Child but with a Psalm; and you must not presume so much as to

to ask *What a Clock it is*, without a *Text*; to prove that the Question tends to *Edification*.

But the hardest Case of all is, That of *Suspition*. The very Suspicion of *Avarice*, or *Pride*, You say, makes a Man liable to Censure. Suspicion of pride. This, methinks, is very severe, for a Man to be delivered over to *Sathan*, because the Brotherhood *Suspects* him to be *Proud*, or *Covetous*; whether he be so, or no.

Pres. 'Tis to be presumed, that the Church will proceed according to a Judgment of Charity, and Discretion.

Indep. Did not the Kirk Excommunicate the whole Multitude for a Robin-Hood? Nay at St. Johnstons, they cursed not only the Men, that should take part with the King, but the very *Horses*, and *Spears*. (Here's an *Excommunication* by way of *Advance*) Upon the Action of Duke Hamilton in 1648. the whole Party were *Excommunicate* (even after the Defeat: (as appears by the *Scotch Act for Renewing the Covenant*.)

In some Cases again, they are as *Tender* and *Cautelous*. Andrew Hunter (a Prime stickler for the Discipline) attended Bothwell as his Spotsw. Hist. p. 395 Chaplain, in a Rebellion, 1593. But King James could not prevail with the Assembly to *Excommunicate* Him for it; (though no doubt was made of the Fact) Nay, on the Contrary, They would not be Ibid. 460 quiet, till they had got Bothwell's Pardon. And upon Gowry's attempt (in the Year 1600.) His Majesty required the Ministers of *Edinburgh* to give God thanks in their Churches for his Deliverance, and they refused it.

Put to the Point we were upon, as nothing can be more Contrary to the *temper* and *dictate* of the *Holy Gospel* then the claim of this *Arbitrary* and *Censorious Jurisdiction*: it seems to me to stand in an equal Degree of Opposition to the Rules of *Society*, *Humanity*, and *Reason*.

The King is upon his good Behaviour to the *Elders*, and *Deacons* Book of Discipline, p. 61; (who are Judges of others manners) as well as the meanest man in the Parish. He is indeed, (as is observ'd by the Author of *Presbytery* p. 3. Display'd) the *Chief Member* of the *General Assembly*; but they allow him no Negative Voice; and if he has the Fortune to be *Out-Voted*, he must cause the Sentence to be *Executed*, whatever it be, under Pain of *Censure*, and Consequently of *Deprivation*. Of *Acts of Parliament*, and *Inferior Magistrates*, enough is spoken already.

As to the State of the *Nobility*, and *Gentry*, they are either *Conformists* to the Government, or *Dissenters*; and must take their Lot in it, to be either *Sovereigns*, or *Slaves*: (for that's the distribution of it.) Upon the Main These *Domini Dominantium* Challenge by their

Con-

Commission to be no *Respecter of Persons*; and so lay upon all Sorts, and Conditions of Men in General at their good Pleasure certain *Common Impositions*, Importing their *Servility*, and *Subjection*, and whose *Livery* they wear.

Ibid. p. 57.
2d book
of Discip
p. 97.

1st book
of Disc.
p. 29

I must not omit one Peculiar Obligation, the *Nobility*, and *Gentry* have to these their gracious Masters: which is, easing them of their *Patronages*, & *Presentations to Benefices*, because these things flowed from the *Pope*, and the corruption of the *Law* only, and are contrary to the *Word of God*, and the *Peoples Liberty of Electing their own Ministers*. [For (say they) this is altogether to be avoided, that any man be violently Intruded, or Thrust in upon any Congregation. But this Liberty, with all care, must be reserved to every several Church, to have their *Votes*, and *Suffrages* in Election of their *Ministers*.

Ib. p. 29

Observe now I beseech you, the *Peoples Liberty*, in this Choice. *Violent Intrusion* we call it not, when the *Counsel of the Church*, in the fear of *God*, and for the *salvation of the People*, offereth unto them a *sufficient Man*, to *Instruct* them. If his *Doctrine* be found *wholesome*, and able to *Instruct the Simple*, and if the *Church* justly can reprehend nothing in his *Life*, *Doctrine*, nor *Utterance*, then we judge the *Church* unreasonable, if they refuse him, whom the *Church* did offer; and they should be compelled by the *censure of the Counsel, and Church*, to receive the *Person* appointed. Here's *Liberty upon Compulsion*; and it is most *Palpable*, that your whole *Design* is the *Interest of a Party*.

Spotsw.
h. it. p. 393

Ibid. 394

Come now to the men of Ordinary *Business*, and *Traffick*. The *Presbytery* will put an end to all their *Disputes*, about *Free Trade*, *Privileges*, and matter of *Commerce*, with a wet Finger. Did they not by an *Act of Assembly at Dundy 1592*. Prohibit the *Scots Trading* with any of the *King of Spains Dominions*, under Pain of *Excommunication*? and his Majesty refusing to comply with them, (at the Instance of the *Spanish Merchants*) Did they not proceed to *Censure the Merchants*? So that there shall be no *Trading*, but where they please: And no *Markets* neither but upon their good liking too. Did they not by their *Proper Authority* Discharge the *Munday Market* in *Edenburgh*? But the *Shoo-makers* indeed were too hard for the *Elders* this bout, and told them plainly, they would turn out all their *Ministers* by *Head and Shoulders* first before they parted with their *Market*. Upon which *Menace* they were quiet.

p. 10.

The Author of *Presbytery Display'd*, gives you some Instances of the *Presbyteries Interposal*, in Actions of *Debt*, and menacing *Landlords*, and *Creditors*, with *Excommunication*, unless they laid down the *Process*: Upon Pretense Forsooth, that though it was in a *Civil Cause*,

Cause, it had yet a *Spiritual Prospect*: Withdrew People from their *Callings*, and hindred the *Progress of the Gospel*.

And this is no more, then any man will reasonably expect, that looks but with half an eye upon the very *Frame*, and *Provision* of the *Discipline*. Is not he a mad man, that thinks to recover a Debt at *Common Law*, against any Member, or Members Friend of the *Presbytery*, when 'tis but flying to the Cannon of the *Consistory*, to silence the dispute, and telling him, that *He is Contentious without a reasonable Cause*? Cannot the *Church* put an end to strife among Brethren, as well as the *Civil Magistrates*? It is a matter of evil example, and ends to the *Hurt of our Neighbour*. If the Creditor be obstinate, and will not take good Counsel, out flies an *Excommunication* against him, for refusing to obey the *Orders of the Church*.

I would now fain understand, what it is that sets so many of the Ministers a Gog upon this Platform; for certainly, they are of all Mortals the most contemptible: (the *Junto*, and some few of the *Select ones* Excepted.)

Their *Discipline* divides the *Patrimony* into four parts, One for the *Pastor*; Another for the *Elders*, *Deacons*, and other *Kirk-Officers*; their *Doctor*, and *Sermons*, A *Third* for *Charitable Uses*: and the *Rest* for *Repairing of Churches*, and other incidental charges. So that the *Clergy* is stip'd already of 3. Parts of 4 of their *Legal Maintenance*.

A jurisdiction exercised according to the Statute of this Discipline, one would think, might satisfy any reasonable sort of people. But alas! if they do not as much exceed their own *Bounds*, in their *Practises*, as they exceed all other *Models* in their *retensions*, they reckon it as good as nothing. They can Cite People out of a *Remote Jurisdiction*. Deprive whole *Presbyteries* for *Dissent*. (Kings Declaration, page 314.) Call *Nine Presbyters* of *Fife*, a *General Assembly*. (Spotswood, p. 490.) *Diminish Churches* (304.) and *Dispose of the Patrimony* 311.) and what not?

More cannot be said, as to the Empire they exercise o're *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*, severally, and in divers respects: we come now to their *Usurpations* upon the common *Rights*, and *Privileges of Mankind*.

Chiding (as I told you) they have drawn within the compass of *Ecclesiastical Censure*. So that *Masters* shall not Reprove their *Servants*, nor *Parents* their *Children*; without leave of the *Eldership*, (to the utter dissolution of the *Order and Discipline of Private Families*.) Nay, they have taken in *Brawling* too, and made every *Bill-squar Quarrel*, ever Brabble betwixt a *Butter-Whore* and an *Oyter-wench*, a *Subject of Consistorial Cognizance*.

Toleration Discuss'd.

Under the Censure of *Lowd Customs* are comprized all sorts of *Publique Sports, Exercises, and Recreations*, that have been long in Use; upon the worshipful pretense (forsooth) that they had their original from the times of *Paganism, or Popery*: As *Comedies, Interludes, Wraftlings, Foot-Ball-Play, May-Games, Whitson-ales, Morrice-Dances, Bear-baitings*; Nay the poor *Rosemary, and Bays, and Christmas-Pye*, is made an *Abomination*.

Presb. *And are not the Independents as much against these Fooleries as the Presbyterians?*

Indep. No, we take our own freedom, to forbear what we dislike our selves; and allow other People their liberty, to practise what pleases them. But to proceed.

All Games that brings Loss, are prohibited, *Tenis, Bowles, Billiards*; Not so much as a game at *Sicol-Ball* for a *Tansy*, or a *Cross and Pyle* for the odd Penny of a Reckoning, upon Pain of *Damnation*.

——— *Shortly, Boys shall not Play*

At Span-Counter, or Blow-Point, but shall Pay

Toll to some Presbyter———

What do you think now of *Uncomly Gestures*? That a man shall be given to the Devil, for Lolling upon his Elbow, or setting on his Back-side, in the Presence of the Deacon of the Parish.

And the like for *Excess in Eating, or Apparel*. Every bit we put into our mouths, and every rag we put upon our Backs, becomes a snare to us. It may be either too much, or too costly: and what reformation soever the Kirk shall think fit to order, either in our *Clothes, or Dyet*, must be observ'd, with the same degree of *Submission, and Obedience*, as if the matter in Question were an *Article of our Creed*.

Their Censure of *Vain Words* is yet more rigorous, and reaches for ought we know, to the honestest Endearments, and Familiarities of Friendship, and conversation, even to the exclusion of common decency, and Civility. But let our words be what they will, we are still dependent upon the good pleasure of the *Eldership*, whether they will pronounce them *Vain, or Edifying*.

But why should a man expect to scape for *Words*, where *Thought* it self is Censurable? *Suspition of Avarice, Pride, &c.* (as you have heard) He that sues to recover a debt, shall be *suspected of Avarice*. He that refuses to crouch like the Ass under the Burthen, shall be *suspected of Pride*. And for a *Man and a Woman to be only seen together*, shall be ground enough for a *suspition of Incontinency*. Nay, they shall be *Cited, Interrogated, Close Committed, and Put to Bread and Water* upon it; and compell'd to *Swear in Propriam Turpitudinem*. After all this, and that

that no *Proof* appears, and that they purge themselves upon *Oath*:
It shall be yet *Enacted by the Assembly*, that if ever these two shall be *Presbyt.*
seen again in *Company together*, unless at *Church, or Market*, they shall be *display'd,*
taken *pro Confessio* for *Guilty*. P. 9.

A whole Volume (says the *Authour of Presbytery Display'd*) might
be written of *Young Women* by these *Courses, disgraced, and Defamed*: Of
many *Families* divided and scatter'd; whereas before there was never any
jealousie betwixt the man and the wife.

Presb. These are *Objections* rather of *Passion and Extravagance*, than
of *Argument*.

Indep. They are no other then such *Conclusions* as the *Premisses* will
very well bear.

Presb. I have heard indeed of several wilde and senseless *Scruples*
charg'd upon the *Independents*: as that they made it a matter of *Religi-*
on to piss abed, and ride *Hobby-horses*, because it is said, Except ye be-
come as little *Children*, ye shall not enter into the *Kingdom of Hea-*
ven, *Matth. 18. 3.*

Indep. Pray give me leave to requite you with three or four *Presby-*
terian Scruples, out of *Bancrofts Survey of the Pretended Holy Dis.* p. 368.

Move M. Cartwright, and some other our *Reverend Brethren* to deliver *Pig to*
their *Judgments*, whether all laying out of hair be forbidden to all *Wo-* *Field,*
men, especially at their repair to the publick meetings of the *Church*? P. 86

A Question riseth in my minde, whether one that *Professeth Christ truly*, *Ed. Brown*
may, according to the same *Profession*, delight in, and use *Hawking, and Field,*
Hunting; so no *Unchristian* behaviour otherwise be joyned therewith.

Let me know your *Judgment* particularly, whether it be in any respect to- *Walker to*
lerable for *Women* that profess *Religion*, and the *Reformation*, to wear *Dub-* *Field.*
lets, Little Hats with Feathers, great gowns after the *French & Out-*
landish Fashion; great *Ruffs and Hair*, either curled, or frilled, or set
out upon *Wires, and such like Devices*.

I cannot pass from these *Phantastical Absurdities* in your *Practises*,
without some *Reflection* upon those in your *Constitution*. To say no-
thing of your *Disagreements* among your selves, about your *Officers*,
and *Discipline*. What can be more ridiculous than to *Authorize* a
Cobler to *Correct Majesty*, *Mechanicks* to *Determine in Points of Faith*? *Book of*
Are not your *Elders* joyn'd in *Commission* with your *Ministers*, for the Ex- *Discipl.*
amination of the *Person* that offers himself to the *Ministry*, in all the *Chief* *P. 28.*
Points in Controversie betwixt us and the *Papists, Anabaptists, Arians,*
&c. Are not the *Elders, and Deacons* fit *Persons* (think ye) to be made *Ibid, 60.*
Judges of Theological Niceties; and to *Admonish, and Reprove* a *Mini-*
ster, that *Propones* not faithful *Doctrine*? Has not your *General Assem-*
bly,

King's
Large De-
clar. p 315

bly, rather the *Face* of a *Council of State*, then of a *Council of the Church*? (And in truth the *Business* too.) Behold the Composition (I beseech ye) of the Pretended *Assembly at Glasgow*, 1638. *Seven Earls, Ten Lords, Forty Gentlemen, and One and Fifty Burgeses* to Determine of *Faith and Church Censures*.

Now to take a Brief View of the whole. What greater *Slavery* in the world, can be imagined, then to live in Subjection to a Government; where you shall have, neither *Freedom of Conscience, Law, Person, or Fortune*? Where you shall not *Speak, Look, Move, Eat, Drink, Dress your self*; Nay, not so much as entertain a *Thought*, but at your *Peril*? And to be in this Bondage too unto the *Meanest*, and most *Insolent* of your *Fellows*? For none but such will ever engage themselves in the Exercise of so Inhumane a Tyranny. And for a further Aggravation of the *Shame, and Guilt* of the Faction, let me desire you, but to cast an eye upon their Proceedings, under King *James* in *Scotland*, and here under Queen *Elizabeth*; where you shall find that they were never so impetuous, and Bold, as when they found the *King*, and the *State* in distress, upon the Apprehension of *Foreign Dangers*. And so for the *Queen*, upon the business of *Eighty Eight*: Whereas the *Independents* never so confined themselves to the Prosecution of their *Private Interests*, as to Hazard the betraying of their *Country* to *Foreigners*: And particularly, in the late Engagements at Sea, against the *French*, and *Dutch*, many of them have given Signal Testimony, and Proof of their Fidelity, and Valour.

I should not have ingross'd this whole Discourse to my self, but in Persuance of a Point, wherein you have confest beforehand, that you had nothing further to oppose: that is to say, concerning the *Principles* of the Parties in question.

Neither is any thing I have hitherto deliver'd, to be taken as a *Challenge*, and *Claim* of a *Toleration*, of such a Quality, as to enter into a *Competition* with the *Peace and Security*, of the *Publique*: But this I promise my self, that if it shall appear reasonable to *Authority*, to allow of any *Relaxation*, the *Independents* *Party*, upon all considerations of common *Equity*, and *Safety*, will stand good against That of the *Presbyterians*.

From w. of: Tripple-Crown'd Consistory; that Lords it over Souls, Bodies, and Estates; over King, Nobles, and Commons; over Laws, Magistrates, and all Sorts, and Ranks of Men, and Interests, that turns Gospel into Law; Committeth into Deserts; Men into Beasts;

GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

THE END.